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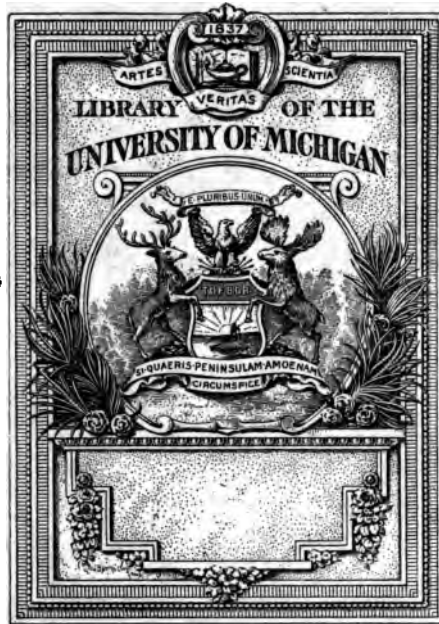
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AMERICA IN FERMENT

PAUL LELAND HAWORTH





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By

PAUL LELAND HAWORTH

Author of ³

The Hayes-Tilden Election, Reconstruction
and Union, 1865-1912, Etc.



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**To my father, who still abides with
me, and to my mother, who has
passed beyond, I dedicate this book**

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PAUL LELAND HAWORTH

November, 1914

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AMERICA IN FERMENT

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CHAPTER I

THE TREND

I

A ROMAN historian relates that in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus workmen digging the foundations for a temple to Jupiter discovered a mysterious human head which they forthwith carried before the augurs, who interpreted the omen to mean that Rome would one day be the head of the world. The anecdote is doubtless apocryphal, and yet it is certain that the Roman people early became convinced that a mighty future lay before them. Without such a conviction it is improbable that a community first composed of a few peasants and outlaws gathered upon those low hills beside the Tiber would ever have played so mighty a part in history. Conquest was the ruling passion of the Roman's life, bred into his bones and imbibed with his mother's milk.

Other peoples whose deeds are remembered have likewise had a definite purpose. The Phœnician existed for trade and commerce, wherefore his ships en-

been that he has advanced further than some other peoples whose spasmodic efforts were more radical.

II

National ideals and purposes change with the years, and so it has been in America. The patriot of '76 fought for freedom, but it was for freedom from oppression by rulers beyond seas. The Declaration of Independence, to be sure, proclaimed as a self-evident truth "that all men are created equal"; but this was merely a humanitarian idea borrowed by Thomas Jefferson from French philosophers, and it had little practical relation to the existing situation, though it was to serve as a goal for future aspiration. The Americans of that day were neither equal nor did they strive very vigorously to become so. Most states had property or religious tests for the voter and the officeholder; slaves were held in every one of the original thirteen states; and in a large section of society the idea prevailed that "the rich, the well born, and the able" ought to rule. The United States of the Revolutionary period was, in truth, but a "shadow democracy." The Constitution itself was framed not in the interest of democracy alone, but of property as well, and it recognized the right of property in human beings.

For a long period the American's idea of freedom continued to be freedom from foreign powers; his idea of equality, equality in matters political. There were radicals fired by the "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*"

example of the French Revolutionists, men who wished to level all ranks and abolish all titles except those of "Citizen" and "Citess," but the craze soon passed. The average man felt satisfied if he enjoyed the same right to vote which his wealthier and more aristocratic neighbor enjoyed. Perhaps he might believe that all men are created equal, but he did not insist on pushing the doctrine to its logical conclusion. His dream of national greatness and perfection was of a day when his country could whip the arrogant "Britisher," overthrow hated monarchy and set up republicanism throughout the world. He deemed America the best and freest land the sun ever shone on, and to question our institutions very seriously he would have esteemed a heresy almost as unpardonable as to doubt the Godhead itself.

Gradually the anachronisms were removed, especially those which marred the theory of complete political equality. The new West was more democratic than the old East, and the new states, such as Kentucky and Tennessee, did not copy the suffrage restrictions of their eastern sisters. The democratic movements of 1800 and 1828, led by Jefferson and Jackson, swept away most of the relics of political inequality in the East as well. Slavery meanwhile was disappearing in the North, but it remained vigorous in the South, and the incongruity of such an institution in a republic justified the taunts of Thomas Moore and other British visitors. But the time came when slavery caused grave searching of hearts. The

abolition movement was an attempt to make practice square with precept, and its ultimate success was certain; for the ownership of men was out of harmony with the real genius of our institutions, and the Proclamation of Emancipation and the war amendments were foreshadowed by the Declaration of Independence. Secession failed because of this and because it was opposed to another slowly developing ideal, that of nationality.

When the suffrage had been conferred on the freedmen and the disabilities of ex-Confederates had been removed, the male population of the United States had in theory attained the ideal of political equality before the law. But a reaction soon occurred. In southern states the negro was to a large extent deprived of the suffrage, and the nation, distracted by material pursuits and the conquest of the continent, lost much of its enthusiasm for liberty and equality.

But with the closing of one century and the coming of the new, there was slowly developing in the minds of many men a state of discontent and disillusionment. The ideal of material power had been realized; America, united into a real union and wealthy beyond all precedent, no longer needed to fear any foreign nation; but Americans were not satisfied. The mass of them possessed political equality, but they believed themselves oppressed. Economic inequalities had developed until the way to Opportunity for the many was becoming choked. Men began to believe that political equality was a poor thing unless through

it they could obtain something approaching equal economic opportunity. The question of man's equality again came to the forefront, but with a new face. Herein lies the real secret of the unrest of the past decade. It accounts for the rapid growth of the Socialist movement, for the break-up of the Republican party and the rise of the Progressive party. A new battle is on in the age-long struggle for human rights.

At one extreme stand those who are satisfied with things as they are. The "haves" are naturally conservatives or stand-patters. It was always so. Comparatively few of the great property owners in Revolutionary times were Whigs, for they had much to lose and little to win by rebellion. With the "haves" are aligned a great body of people who because of association or temperament attach themselves to the conservative side, even though their material circumstances are such that they might naturally be expected to desire change.

The philosophy of the conservatives is easily understood. America is enjoying, they say, the greatest development of wealth and well-being ever attained by any people. Some evils may exist, but let us not imitate the farmer who burned his barn to get rid of the rats. Equality is a philosophic abstraction which does not square with the facts of human nature. There must always be classes in society. There must always be rich and poor, masters and lackeys. It is well that it is so, otherwise the world would be reduced to one dreary level, with no oppor-

tunities for the development of manners and culture. Why try to abolish a law of nature? Why run amuck in the face of Providence? Who can tell how delicately poised our civilization may be? A nation's well-being may be compared to a great rock balanced high upon a mountain top. If some weight is added to one side or taken away from another, the rock loses its equipoise and goes plunging down into the depths below. Let us be satisfied with things as they are and not risk unknown and undreamed-of dangers in pursuit of impossible ideals.

Some conservatives, so called, are really reactionaries, who would turn the clock backward. Now and then one meets a person who openly declares that America already has too much equality; that we should copy European usages and establish an hereditary class. Not long since such a person, a Cleveland business man, paid a visit to Europe. He was the son of a Maine shoemaker, who had turned banker and on his death left his children a goodly competence. While abroad the tourist saw something—chiefly at a distance—of the English gentry, and he returned home filled with a vast enthusiasm for the English system. In conversation with a democratic friend he declared with great emphasis: "What America needs is a House of Lords and an hereditary aristocracy."

"That would be very fine for people with gentle ancestry," returned the friend dryly, "but how would it affect the son of a shoemaker?"

Comparatively few Americans desire hereditary rank, for too many of them, like the business man mentioned before, are of plebeian origin, and yet there can be little doubt that the tendency to caste is growing. From the purely social point of view nothing approaching complete equality has ever existed in this country in any long settled community. To-day, as Professor Münsterberg remarks, "A wealthy man has a certain advantage by his wealth, the man of family by his lineage, the man of academic training by the fact that his parents were able to send him to the university." Yet there exists no wide-spread desire for us to become aristocratic by imitating the aristocracies of Europe. Notwithstanding a tendency to differentiation, a man, in the main, is still judged by what he as an individual amounts to. The attention devoted by certain newspapers to the doings of Newport and Fifth Avenue are misleading, for "this clique is accounted a real aristocracy merely by itself and by the tradesmen who purvey to it." Nevertheless, no one can say what might be the outcome in this direction should conservative and reactionary forces be allowed to rule unchecked.

At present there seems little likelihood that they will be allowed to rule unchecked. Opposed to them are those "have-nots" who have become conscious of the struggle and some few "haves" in whom the spirit of humanity outweighs selfish interest. Their reply to the conservative argument has all been summed up in the lines:

"The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each tooth-point goes.
The butterfly upon the road
Preaches contentment to that toad."

Their program for the future varies from the extreme of Anarchism to that of Socialism. Almost their only bond of union is their desire for change and their light-hearted belief that because man has never yet done a thing is no conclusive proof that he can not and will not do it.

A great body of Americans have not yet definitely aligned themselves with either element. Perhaps some will never awaken to the struggle. Many people are dissatisfied with things as they are but there is no general agreement as to whither we should go. The country is a leviathan, a blind giant, wandering about almost aimlessly. The old material ambition to grow big and strong still survives, when its need has long been served. Other ideals and objects are struggling with one another. But we are in a transition period and have not yet agreed on a new national purpose.

Ours is an age of unrest, of groping for things unattained, perhaps unattainable—a period comparable in American history only with that of the Revolution and the Civil War. Our problems are more difficult than those of our forefathers, because infinitely more complex and less tangible. It is altogether probable that the next decade will determine the future of our Great Experiment.

Whatever may be the outcome of the ferment, it is beyond doubt that never before has a nation enjoyed such boundless opportunities. In material resources, in the number of intelligent and forceful citizens, we stand alone. If we should decide to enter on a career of imperialism and conquest we could build fleets and drill armies that would dwarf those of Britain and Germany. Should we decide to continue in a career of unchecked materialism, we could amass wealth beyond man's understanding and develop billionaires beside whose fortunes those of the Rockefellers and the Vanderbilts would appear insignificant.

But it is not certain that we shall enter on any such career. There are those who hope and believe that ultimately American sentiment will crystallize into a desire to work for the betterment of all men by securing for all men, as near as may be, equal opportunity without favor to some or handicap to others. Perhaps the experiment is worth trying, for it would be forwarding the work begun by the Fathers. Notwithstanding their limitations they hewed a new path toward human liberty. With all its faults and inconsistencies, America led the van and was long regarded as a real Utopia by millions who in less favored lands bore heavy burdens. That day is passing. The world is catching up with us and even passing us. We have no longer a monopoly on democracy. If our future is to be worthy of our past, we must not stand still. If we dismiss the vision, if we consent to become mere crass materialists and

money-grubbers content "to measure everything in terms of pig iron," there will be little in our future history—no matter how powerful we may become—worthy of study or admiration, for it will contain no inspiration.

CHAPTER II

THE HOME OF THE NATION

I

THE future will probably see only four powers of the first rank—Great Britain, Russia, China and the United States. The German Empire is to-day potent both commercially and in a military way; but her home territory only slightly exceeds two hundred thousand square miles, less than that of the single state of Texas, and already supports a population of about three hundred and ten to the square mile; her colonial possessions,* though extensive, are ill-suited as habitations for the white race; and her natural resources, both home and colonial, are too restricted to enable her to stand the rapid pace of the next hundred years. Little wonder that Germans envy the magnificent colonial domain of Great Britain and hate the Monroe Doctrine which safeguards the rich lands of Brazil and the Argentine Republic. France has already found the pace a little too fast; Italy in modern times has never been a really first-rate power; while the Austro-Hungarian Empire will surprise many political scientists if it does

* At present it is by no means certain that she will be able to retain them.

not presently break up into fragments roughly corresponding to its racially constituent parts. In the Far East Japan has recently displayed remarkable military and naval strength, but the Japanese islands are even smaller in total extent than Germany, are less well endowed by nature, and the Japanese people, groaning beneath the burden of almost incredibly high taxes, are beginning to realize that perhaps the part of a great power is beyond their strength. Past history has chronicled some seeming impossibilities, and it may be that one or more of the nations mentioned may find a way to rid itself of its handicap; those that do not have either reached or are nearing their maximum of power and the time will come when they will have to be content with comparatively minor rôles. Beyond question the need of such nations as Germany and Japan for expansion constitutes one of the greatest dangers to the peace of the world.*

It is true that Great Britain's home area is considerably less than that of Germany, but in Canada, Australia and South Africa she possesses extensive colonies settled mainly or in large part by her own sons. With these colonies lies her future. The day is not far distant when most British subjects of British blood will reside out of the British Isles. Should the colonies just mentioned break off from the parent stem and set up for themselves, Great

*Written before the Great War began. In the ultimate analysis this need for expansion was the main cause of the conflict, nor will its influence cease when peace comes.

Britain must inevitably sink to the position of a second-rate power, for her other possessions in India and elsewhere, though inhabited by myriads of human beings, would prove of doubtful value as a basis for enduring empire. Russia's area of eight million six hundred thousand square miles, all concentrated in one mighty mass and supporting a population of over one hundred and sixty millions of people, would seem to give her an advantage that would enable her in time to overshadow all nations; but much of her land is desert or Arctic waste, her people are steeped in ignorance and many of them belong to unprogressive races, and her autocratic government is a survival of the dark ages. China, for centuries a case of arrested development, seems to be awake at last, and with her four million, two hundred and seventy-seven thousand one hundred and seventy square miles and a population comprising one-quarter of the entire human race, is likely to play an important part in days not far distant.

II

The material power of the United States is assured by a combination of many conditions, among which are geographical position, natural resources and the character of the population.

"The most important geographical fact in the past history of the United States," says a distinguished anthropo-geographer, "has been their location on the Atlantic opposite Europe; and the most important

geographical fact in lending a distinctive character to their future history will probably be their location on the Pacific opposite Asia." The position of the country as regards Europe insured its settlement by progressive Caucasian peoples, and more especially by English-speaking people, bringing with them Anglo-Saxon political and social institutions. Had our west coast been nearer to Asia than our east coast is to Europe it is not improbable that centuries ago the land would have been occupied by Mongolian or Malayan peoples. As it was, men of the latter race got as near as the Hawaiian Islands, less than two thousand miles from the coast of California; and probably members of the former race actually entered the continent by way of Bering Strait, becoming the ancestors of the Eskimos and Indians. In the present and future the location of the United States on the Atlantic insures us a leading part in the activities of the world bordering on that ocean. Our location on the Pacific enables us to participate in the commerce and political affairs of the lands that surround that mighty body of water. Of northern countries, only Russia and Canada are similarly favored in possessing contiguous territory that touches both the great oceans, but Russia's advantage in this respect is decidedly less than that of the United States. On both oceans the United States possesses many ports that are open all the year round, while those of Russia and Siberia are ice-bound for several months in the year.

To these natural advantages the United States has within recent years added a number of others. By the acquisition in 1898 of Porto Rico and of naval bases in Cuba, with her political protectorate over the latter island, she greatly extended her influence in the American Mediterranean and over the Spanish-American countries bordering upon it, while her annexation of the Hawaiian Islands the same year gave her the key to the central Pacific. Possession of the Philippine Islands is of more doubtful value, for though their ownership may ultimately be of considerable commercial value in the eastern market, it involves a great outlay for defense and, isolated as they are, the islands would be a source of decided weakness in case of war.

The latest addition to our advantages in the way of position is the Panama Canal. The story of this epic achievement, the dream of four centuries, need not be told here; it will suffice to point out the infinitely great increase in naval and commercial strength which it insures us.

The possession of two exposed coast lines so remote from each other had long been a source of embarrassment to our naval strategists. To divide the fleet and station a part on the west coast and a part on the east coast was to invite defeat in detail before the two could combine, exactly the fate that befell the Russian navy in the war with Japan. The only sound plan was to maintain virtually all our war-ships in one ocean or the other. But even this plan involved

grave dangers. In case the fleet was concentrated in the Pacific, our Atlantic seaboard might be ravaged while the fleet was making its slow way round South America; the reverse might be true with regard to the Pacific seaboard should the fleet be in the Atlantic when war was declared. The dangers of the situation were brought home to the whole American people by the voyage of the *Oregon* in the early days of the Spanish-American War. Triumphant though that voyage proved to be, it furnished an impressive object-lesson on the need of a canal and doubtless hastened the enterprise, perhaps by many years.

The commercial advantages of the canal are almost equally obvious. The distance by water between New York and ports on the coast of our Pacific states will be diminished seven thousand eight hundred miles; between New York and the Orient three thousand seven hundred miles; between New York and Melbourne two thousand four hundred and sixty miles; between New Orleans and our Pacific coast ports eight thousand eight hundred miles. The new waterway will lower freight rates on goods going either east or west and will help to free California and the other coast states from the grasp of the transcontinental railroads. As a result we may expect to see oranges, lumber and other western products cheaper in the East, and steel goods and other eastern products cheaper in the West. The canal will benefit other great commercial nations, but not to the same extent as the United States.

The canal will help us to gain a larger share of the expanding trade of Asia and Australia, but it will perhaps be even more helpful in developing our commerce with Spanish-American states. Twelve such states fringe the eastern margin of the Pacific. Their combined natural resources are enormous, and most of them appear to be on the eve of rapid material development, for the twentieth century is South America's. Their foreign trade in 1912 already amounted to seven hundred and forty million dollars; in a couple of decades it will probably be two or three times that sum. The share of the United States is now two hundred and seventy-seven million dollars, or thirty-seven per cent. In the opinion of John Barrett, director general of the Pan-American Union, the canal ought to enable us to obtain fifty or even sixty per cent. of this growing trade. Certainly the great diminution in distance by water between the ports of these states and our manufacturing centers will be exceedingly helpful to us. The distance by water from New York to Guayaquil was until the opening of the canal, ten thousand two hundred and fifteen miles; it is now only two thousand eight hundred and ten miles.

The canal effects on the South are certain to be especially marked. The commercial center of gravity will undoubtedly shift in that direction. For some time a number of great railroads have been seeking southern outlets. New Orleans, Galveston and other Gulf ports will reap a rich harvest as a result of this

new era in the history of the American Mediterranean.

All the commercial advantages of the opening of the canal will not, however, come at once, and some of them may be lost permanently if American merchants and manufacturers do not bestir themselves. It will not do to play the game of sit-still in the hope that the new trade will fall into our lap like a ripe plum. Other nations are fully alive to the opportunity and their activity may outweigh our natural advantages if we are not careful. It would be a doubtful triumph to spend almost four hundred million dollars in digging the canal only to see it become mainly a highway for foreign ships and goods. Yet something of this sort may happen. America's natural resources and her unequaled strategic position, a position vastly improved by the opening of the canal, render it possible for her to become the greatest maritime and commercial power of the future. But she should seize the chance while she may.

The present titanic conflict gives the United States an opportunity for commercial expansion such as has rarely been vouchsafed to a nation. Already evidences are not wanting that both government and people will strive vigorously to take advantage of the situation created by European madness.

Yet another feature of America's location deserves consideration; it is that her detached position makes for safety and individuality. Continental European powers are constantly endangered by the existence

just beyond an artificial boundary of jealous and powerful neighbors always watchful for any sign of weakness. War is the nightmare of Europe, and each great power keeps hundreds of thousands of men constantly under arms. The strain of maintaining such vast military and naval establishments is enormous, and with much truth it has been said that in these countries each laborer is forced to carry an armed man upon his back.

The United States has no dangerous neighbors, and maintains only about eighty thousand regulars. She keeps, it is true, a considerable navy; but the task of transporting a large army across three thousand miles of sea is so stupendous that even if she possessed not a single war-ship her home territory would be in little permanent danger from a foreign foe. Freed, therefore, from the danger of war, she can concentrate practically her united energies on the problems of peace. Until some plan for general disarmament is adopted by the governments of Europe the United States will enjoy an incalculable advantage over the great powers on that continent. It is one of the commonplaces of history that a similar advantage on a much smaller scale possessed by England accounts in large measure for the political and material progress of that country. Since the days of William the Norman England has not been seriously invaded by a foreign foe, and to-day she intrusts her defense virtually to her navy. Little wonder that Tennyson, standing in

fancy upon the coast of Kent and gazing at the white cliffs of France, exclaimed so fervently:

"God bless the narrow sea which keeps her off!"

Americans have much to be thankful for and not least of all the thousand leagues of stormy sea that guard her from the armaments of Europe.*

III

The whole of the United States proper lies within the temperate zone, the region best suited for man's highest development, but the land possesses a wide range of soil and climate and a consequent variety in natural products. Its physical features are infinitely diverse, and though it includes within its boundaries vast mountain ranges and great stretches of arid land, it also includes the Mississippi basin, undoubtedly the most favored region upon earth for man's habitation. Its mines produce practically every mineral needed in the arts, and in most cases in quantities exceeding that produced by any other nation.†

* Doubly significant just now. The "nightmare" has become a tragic reality.

† Our leadership in this respect is strikingly illustrated by the following table showing the production of certain metals in 1912:

	Metric Tons	Nearest Competitor	Metric Tons
Copper, U. S.	563,260	Mexico	73,617
Lead, U. S.	372,056	Spain	226,790
Petroleum, U. S. ...	29,906,416	Russia	9,249,600
Pig iron, U. S.	30,202,568	Germany	17,852,571
Steel, U. S.	31,751,324	Germany	17,301,998
Zinc, U. S.	316,368	Germany	271,064
Coal, U. S.	529,570,391	Germany	259,434,500

Nor should it be forgot that the United States is a new country whose mineral resources are as yet comparatively untouched, whereas the mines of many of its rivals have been worked for generations and even centuries and must become exhausted long before ours. The mineral resources of Alaska alone probably greatly exceed those of any European state except Russia, yet except for some gold and copper mining almost nothing has been done to develop them. Furthermore, just over our borders, within easy reach, lie the vast coal, silver and copper mines of Mexico and Canada,* from which our manufacturers can draw when our own resources become depleted.

Hitherto the greatest industry of the country has been agriculture, but its relative importance is now much less than formerly. Still, in 1910 the entire value of farm property amounted to forty billion nine hundred and ninety-one million three hundred and seventy-four thousand dollars, or about four-fifths of the total wealth of France. In the production of corn, oats, wheat, tobacco and cotton we lead all other countries.

Until recently agriculture has shown great possibilities in the way of expansion because vast stretches of unoccupied land were constantly coming under cultivation. Now, however, comparatively little arable

* British Columbia contains large deposits of coal, and a large part of the province of Alberta is underlain by coal and lignite. On the upper Saskatchewan River a few years ago I saw seams of good bituminous coal over twenty feet in thickness, and some of them as yet unlocated.

land remains unsettled, and yet not much of our land is really cultivated as land in older countries is cultivated. 'A traveler describing the ascent from Hodeida to Sana in Yemen thus reveals possibilities in the way of soil redemption of which Americans have as yet hardly dreamed:

"The whole mountain side, for a height of six thousand feet," he writes, "was terraced from top to bottom. The crops had all been removed; only some lines of coffee-trees here and there were to be seen, but everywhere, above, below, and all around, these endless flights of terrace walls met the eye. One can hardly conceive the enormous amount of labour, toil, and perseverance which these represent. The terrace walls are usually from five to eight feet in height, but towards the top of the mountain they are much higher, being sometimes as much as fifteen or eighteen feet. They are built entirely of rough stone laid without mortar. I reckoned on an average that each wall retains a terrace not more than twice its own height in width. So steep, in fact, is the mountain, that the zigzag continues almost the whole way to the top."

Some generations will doubtless have come and gone before every hill and mountain in the United States has been reduced to a similar state of cultivation, but much is already being done to redeem arid lands by irrigation. The first attempt at irrigation on a large scale was made by the Mormon immigrants in the Salt Lake basin more than half a century ago. Years passed before their example was followed to

any considerable extent, but gradually private enterprise began to transform hitherto arid sections in some of the other western states. The Cary Act of 1894 and still more the Reclamation Act of 1902, appropriating for irrigation purposes the moneys, less five per cent., received from the sale of western public lands, gave the movement a great impetus. To June 30, 1913, over seventy-eight million dollars had already been expended under the latter act and another of 1910 authorizing the issuance of twenty million dollars in certificates of indebtedness. Meanwhile private enterprise has done even more. Some idea of the possibilities of irrigation and of what has already been accomplished can be obtained from the following statement by J. C. Blanchard, of the Reclamation Service:

“Irrigation canals representing an investment of one hundred and fifty million dollars,* and long enough to girdle the globe with triple bands, have spread oases of green in sixteen arid states and territories. An annual harvest valued at not less than two hundred and fifty million dollars is the desert's response to the intelligent application of water to her sun-burned valleys. Practically all of this stupendous miracle has been wrought within the past quarter of a century, and a large part of it by individual enterprise. The Great American Desert no longer calls up a vision of desolation and horrors. With the westward march of settlers, its boundaries

* Since the above statement was issued the investment has been considerably increased.

have shrunken. Railroads have thrust its barriers aside. Its flowing streams, and its underground waters are being measured and studied, and we are beginning to grasp faintly a little of its potential greatness. Conservative engineers, on the basis of our present knowledge, estimate that not less than thirty million acres are yet reclaimable by water from the streams which drain it."

Irrigation has been resorted to in every western state, and the idea is spreading eastward into regions where the rainfall was once regarded as sufficient for farming purposes. In the semiarid or subhumid region, including parts or all of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Texas and regions farther west, there are many dry years which result in the partial or total failure of crops with enormous resultant losses to the inhabitants. In this region irrigation is certain of great development wherever natural conditions are favorable. Even in the humid region farther east an occasional dry summer such as that of 1913 results in a serious shortage of crops and hardly a growing season passes in which there is not a period of water scarcity. Experience has shown that irrigated land when properly tended is decidedly more productive than where dependence is placed wholly on natural rainfall, and for this reason we can safely predict that even in such states as Indiana and Illinois recourse will be had in future to irrigation, particularly for the growing of crops of the intensive kind. In fact, irrigation is already practised to some extent in the

humid region, particularly on the truck farms of the Atlantic slope and the rice-fields of the South.

Among the great western projects which the government has taken up are the North Platte project in Nebraska and Wyoming, three hundred and forty thousand acres; the Yakima project, Washington, four hundred and eighty-one thousand acres; the Milk River project, Montana, one hundred and ninety-six thousand acres; the Sun River project, Montana, three hundred and twenty-two thousand acres; the Shoshone project, Wyoming, one hundred and sixty-four thousand acres; the Truckee-Carson project, Nevada, two hundred and six thousand acres; the Klamath Valley project, Oregon and California, one hundred and fifty thousand acres; the Rio Grande project, Texas and New Mexico, one hundred and fifty-five thousand acres, and the projects on the Colorado at Yuma and in the Salt River Valley around Phoenix, where the great Roosevelt dam, two hundred and seventy-eight feet high, is already completed, forming a lake containing sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty acres and impounding sufficient water to irrigate more than two hundred thousand acres. This dam contains three hundred and forty-one thousand two hundred and forty-four cubic yards of masonry, and the preliminary work involved the building of a freight road to Mesa, sixty miles, another to Globe, forty miles, and a third to the nearest body of timber, almost thirty miles. The total expenditure on the project was over nine million dollars. The water-

power that has been rendered available is estimated at about fifteen thousand horse-power, a considerable portion of which is already developed. The land redeemed is very productive, and returns under proper culture from six to seven cuttings of alfalfa a year, varying from one to two tons per cutting, while considerable success is being had in raising citrus fruits, dates and other products. The average value of the land is about one hundred and sixty dollars per acre, and the cost of construction about forty-two dollars per acre.

Colorado has more than thirty thousand miles of main irrigating canals, with thousands of miles more to follow. On the plains of Texas and in other states, in places where it is impossible to obtain water from streams, resort is had to wells with decided success. Some writers venture to predict that in time Arizona, long regarded as one of the most arid and worthless regions on the continent, will rank with the historic lands under the Nile ditches, which sustain seven million people on only five million irrigated acres. As in the case of the Nile, the Colorado and its tributaries carry rich silt which, though troublesome in filling up the reservoirs, will fertilize the soil and keep it fruitful forever.

The only limit to irrigation in the United States is the water supply, which unfortunately is by no means sufficient to redeem all the arid lands that otherwise could be made capable of cultivation. A conservative estimate is that only about one-tenth of such

land can be reclaimed. Part of the remaining nine-tenths can, however, to a certain extent be utilized for dry farming and grazing, and it is possible that we shall be able to discover or import from abroad plants of value that will thrive in the arid region. The wonder-working Luther Burbank has already evolved such a plant in the spineless cactus, which makes good cattle food, and the Desert Botanical Laboratory near Tucson is conducting experiments looking toward similar results.

The problem of reclaiming arid land is mainly that of bringing water to it. There is another kind of land in which the problem is exactly the reverse, that of freeing it from too much water. The Department of Agriculture estimates that about four per cent. of our territory, amounting to about seventy-nine million acres, is swamp land or marsh, some of the largest areas being in Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi and Minnesota. It is believed that in course of time we shall be able to redeem at least forty-five million acres, perhaps even more. The Dutch have reclaimed land that is below the level of the sea, and should we follow their example, there is no good reason why we may not redeem almost all of our marsh area. This land, being for the most part very fertile, would add greatly to the resources of the country and would furnish food for many millions of people. It is estimated that by irrigation and drainage combined we can add at least fifteen per cent. to the area already in farms.

IV

The total land area of the United States exclusive of Alaska and the insular possessions is two million nine hundred and seventy-three thousand eight hundred and ninety square miles, and its population in 1910 was ninety-one million nine hundred and seventy-two thousand two hundred and sixty-six, or thirty and nine-tenths per square mile. If it were as thickly populated as Germany it would contain over nine hundred million souls; as Great Britain and Wales, over one billion eight hundred million, or more people than now live on the earth. But such figures are fanciful, so let us get down to sober facts. The population of the United States is now about twenty-four times what it was only one hundred and twenty years ago. In the decade 1900-1910 it increased almost twenty million, or more than one-half the total population of England and Wales, one-third that of Germany, about equal to that of Spain and almost three times that of Canada. Should the ratio of the last two decades continue, the United States will contain in 1940 at least one hundred and fifty million people.

It is possible that in time our country will sustain the yet vaster populations mentioned above, but to do so, we would have to cultivate intensively every foot of soil, work every vein of ore and coal, save every drop of water to irrigate arid lands and transform all water-power into electricity or heat. The America with one billion eight hundred million inhab-

itants would bear little resemblance to the America with ninety million. Some of us would not greatly care to live in it, for it would be wholly a land of cities, market gardens and suburban additions. There would be no wilderness left into which one could go for rest and recreation. Yosemite and the Grand Cañon would be transformed into manufacturing centers; Niagara would be merely a collection of turbines; the Mississippi would be transformed into a vast sewer; even the top of Pike's Peak would probably be utilized in summer for the growing of sub-arctic vegetables.

If this picture seems exaggerated, read the following description of life in a densely inhabited country: "The Swiss in their mountainous land with a population four-fifths as dense as that of Germany are achieving quite as wonderful a result. Only a marvel of patient industry enables the Swiss to draw their livelihood from such an area. Watch the Swiss peasant at his work and you may understand. The cattle stand in the stable while the peasant cuts their food and brings it to them lest they may trample down the precious grass. Man's labor is less valuable there than are the uses of that little patch of land. In the haying season the harvester clings with one hand to the steep mountain side, cutting the grass by the handful and piling it in little bunches loaded down with stones to keep it from blowing away, until it can be carried down into the valley on the backs of men and women. That is what such a density of

population means, translated into terms of human labor."

It is not impossible, however, that before we have even doubled our present population we shall have increased our territory. When we acquired the Philippines and Porto Rico in 1898, a cry of Imperialism was raised and an attempt was made to show that we were entering on untrodden ways. The truth of history is that throughout its career the United States has been imperialistic. Its total area at present is several times its area at the time of the peace which confirmed its independence. Of the increase somewhat more than half has been obtained by purchase, peaceful annexation, or exploration and settlement, and the rest by conquest. With each acquisition it has usually been assumed that we would expand no farther, and yet the longest period that has elapsed without expansion was the period from 1867 to 1898, while the average has been thirteen years. We can only judge the future by the past, and it would hardly be reasonable to assume that a process begun when the pressure for an outlet to superabundant energy, enterprise and adventure was infinitely less than to-day should suddenly be discontinued. As soon expect a boy of thirteen to cease growing because his trousers have become too tight. We have expanded in the past, and, even though we may deplore it, we shall probably expand in the future. This is not jingoism, it is history or manifest destiny, as you will.

It is true that President Wilson has declared that

we will never acquire another foot of soil by conquest, but his statement should be taken as an expression of his own attitude rather than as a conclusive statement of our perpetual policy. At the time Mr. Wilson thus expressed himself the ablest authority* on international law in the administration, if not in the United States, was on record to the effect that expansion has become a habit which it will be difficult for us to break, and he had commented as follows on a statement somewhat similar to that of Wilson's:

"We have indeed seldom confessed that we desired new territory; our general attitude has rather been that of the Washington correspondent of a leading New York newspaper who recently declared, 'We do not want more territory any more than we want fish bones in our coffee.' But in spite of our distaste for this uncanny admixture of foreign and domestic products, the fish bones have continued to appear in our cups, and we have continued to gulp them down without any specially unseemly grimaces."

In what direction will expansion come, if it comes? The most obvious directions, of course, are north or south. There was a time when the annexation of Canada seemed a not remote possibility. At present, however, no active propaganda with that object in

* John Bassett Moore, *Four Phases of American Development*, pages 148-149, 195-196. This book was published in 1912 before Professor Moore, twice assistant secretary of state, returned to the department as counselor.

view is being conducted on either side of the border, and the death of the late Goldwin Smith removed the chief Canadian figure who had advocated such a step. Americans have no designs upon Canada, while never before have the great body of Canadians been so thoroughly convinced that they have a separate national destiny, as was decisively shown when they rejected the late reciprocity agreement. And yet there are silent forces at work that contain possibilities. For several years a hundred thousand Americans have annually sought homes in the Canadian Northwest and the number is increasing. Their influence is a factor to be considered in discussing Canada's future. Already the Canadian land system, its coinage system, its railway system, its educational system, even its holidays, have largely been adapted from the United States. American books, magazines and newspapers are more in evidence than British ones. It may be true, as some observers contend, that Canada is becoming Americanized without realizing it, but every present indication points to the separate existence of the two countries as friendly neighbors having similar institutions and closely related interests.

Expansion is much more likely to take place to the southward. In reality, the United States already exercises a sort of protectorate over most of the Spanish-American states north of the Isthmus. That this is so is due in part to the turbulent politics of these revolution-loving countries and to our own Monroe

Doctrine. Perhaps our influence and oversight may never be transformed into actual ownership, but a study of the world's history convinces one that the step from a protectorate to actual possession has often been short. Cuban dependence is a matter not only of fact but of treaty stipulation. Once already we have been forced to send troops to the island to restore peace and the likelihood of needed intervention seems to recur with almost every election. Of course the process of intervention and subsequent evacuation will not be continued indefinitely. The dependence of Panama upon the United States is even greater than that of Cuba, and from time to time we have intervened in internal affairs of several of the other of the Central American states. Just now the future of Mexico is most to the forefront. No considerable number of Americans desire to possess Mexico or any of these other states, but financial interests in Mexico are large, and a state of warfare along our southern border can not be permitted to last forever. That the Mexican people can succeed in governing themselves is doubtful, for, in the main, they are a mixture of Indians, negroes and Spaniards, with the Indian blood greatly in the preponderance; only a small proportion of them are able to read and write; and their history since their independence, except under such capable dictators as Diaz, has been a series of revolutions. Even during our own war with Mexico two such revolutions occurred, one by which General Santa Anna was re-

stored to power and the other by which he was again driven out.

And yet it is the unexpected that often happens. The future is always doubtful. When our next territorial acquisition is made, it may not lie within the western hemisphere at all. Two decades ago Americans would have smiled if some one had told them that shortly they would be acquiring Asiatic territory, and yet that is exactly what happened. Perhaps in the not far distant future our policy of expansion may even be reversed. The Democratic party stands repeatedly committed to giving the Philippines their independence, and now that they are in power they may actually do so. It might happen, also, that we might lose this or some other possession in war. Most assuredly if the war with Japan, which has so often been predicted, should actually break out, the problem of what to do with the Philippines would be quickly solved, temporarily at least.

It may safely be predicted that in any case the United States will not enter into a reckless course of territorial aggrandizement. Future acquisitions will come as a result of peaceful annexation or of necessity arising out of duty to civilization. There is little jingo spirit in the United States, and the blighting effects of the great European conflict are likely to confirm us more than ever in the belief that the victories of peace are infinitely preferable to those of war.

CHAPTER III

FOR THE SAKE OF POSTERITY

I

EVEN the well at Aldgate had a bottom and, great as our natural resources are, they are far from being inexhaustible. Yet until recently we have acted on the contrary assumption. If the question were to be asked: "What has been the greatest fault of Americans in the last half century?" the answer would be "Wastefulness." So glaring has this fault been that a distinguished foreigner who visited us more than twenty years ago declared that we were a nation of robbers despoiling posterity of its heritage.

The deplorable story has been often told, and it need only be summarized here. By raising such crops as tobacco and wheat year after year on the same fields planters and farmers have injured or ruined large tracts of agricultural land. By failing to safeguard cultivated slopes by such means as terraces, contour plowing and cover crops we have allowed other tracts to suffer so much by erosion that they have become practically valueless. Almost universally we have exploited our soil until it has lost its pristine fertility and productivity.

Perhaps the finest fuel ever given to man is natural gas, yet we have allowed it to escape to such an extent as to constitute a national calamity. New wells are still allowed to roar unchecked for months; companies seeking oil and finding gas let the gas escape without any effort to save it; and in some sections, particularly Louisiana, burning wells, called "Giant Flambeau," flame to the heavens for years. In West Virginia alone an expert has estimated that for twenty years the waste has been equivalent to dumping each minute a forty-five-ton car of coal into an abyss from which it can never be recovered. Yet in the early days, if some thrifty soul ventured mildly to protest, he was withered by a stare and the contemptuous reply, "Any fool knows that the supply is inexhaustible." Any fool knows otherwise to-day, and yet only a very few states have taken the trouble to forbid such criminal folly.

We have been wasteful in our methods of mining coal and other minerals, and even more wasteful in our use of some of them; but perhaps above all we have been prodigal in the management of our forests. When the country was first settled, most of it east of the Mississippi and much of it beyond that river was covered with timber hardly surpassed by any in the world. The destruction of part of it was an inevitable and necessary accompaniment of settlement, but unfortunately the desire to destroy standing trees seemed to get into the American blood. Within the memory of comparatively young men it was accounted

almost a confession of laziness and lack of energy for a farmer in the Central West to own a large woods; usually he did not feel that he had done his duty by himself and civilization until he had cut down and cleared away most or all of his timber. In both the deciduous and evergreen forests lumbering was conducted in the most wasteful ways imaginable. Every tree of value was ruthlessly felled, and no care was taken, except in isolated instances, to insure a new growth for the sake of future generations. Forest fires were allowed to rage unchecked, with the result that hundreds of thousands of square miles of priceless forest were transformed into worthless wastes, where blasted trunks stood amid the blackened stumps and prostrate bodies of comrades half consumed.* Even now the yearly loss by forest fires is about fifty million dollars, and that for 1910, an exceptional year, has been estimated at from seventy-five million dollars to two hundred million dollars. No spendthrift heir ever exhausted his patrimony with greater prodigality than have we in dealing with our forests, and as a result we are now obliged to import at heavy cost much timber from abroad.

* Failure to guard the forests against fire has been fully as great on the part of our neighbor to northward. A few years ago I traveled for nine days by pack-train in a southwesterly direction through the foot-hills and mountains at the head waters of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers. The whole region, except in a few places, had been fire-swept, and hardly any merchantable timber remained. A similar situation exists in parts of eastern Canada.

It has been estimated that at the present rate of cutting—and burning—our timber supply will last less than thirty years. Our anthracite coal supply will be good for only fifty years and our bituminous coal for less than two hundred years.* If the present rate of increase of the exploitation of iron ores should continue, our known supply would be exhausted in about three decades; yet we have the richest deposits in the world. Natural gas has already ceased to flow in many localities, and the end everywhere is in sight. The supply of petroleum, copper, zinc and many other such products is limited enough to give reason for alarm. Of course in the future new deposits of some or all of these things will probably be found, but the supply of none is inexhaustible.

II

For many years an occasional protest was raised against this universal waste, but it was as the voice of one crying in the wilderness. In 1891 the Boone and Crocket Club and members of the American Forestry Association, after a long period of agitation, succeeded in securing the passage of the Forestry Reserve Act, which was carried out in good faith by Secretary of the Interior Noble and most of his successors, with the result that large withdrawals of

* This is one estimate. Others make the time longer. No absolute figures can be given, for the extent of our coal deposits is not exactly known, and we can only guess at how rapidly the annual consumption of coal will increase.

timber lands from entry were made. The total area of the one hundred and sixty-three national forests on June 30, 1912, was one hundred and sixty-five million five hundred and fifteen thousand five hundred and eighteen acres.*

In other lines a beginning was made, and many men contributed honorably to the work, but among these promoters of the modern conservation movement Mr. Gifford Pinchot is undoubtedly entitled to first place. Born in 1865 in Simsbury, Connecticut, a town famous in Revolutionary annals as a place of confinement for British and Tory prisoners, he graduated from Yale in 1889, and later studied scientific forestry at L'Ecole des Eaux et Forêts at Nancy, France, and in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Returning home, he began in January, 1892, at Biltmore, North Carolina, the first systematic forestry work ever attempted in this country. Subsequently, at the request of Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior under Grover Cleveland, he was appointed by the National Academy of Sciences to investigate and report on the inauguration of a rational forest policy for the forested lands of the United States. In this capacity he traveled over a great deal of the western country and familiarized himself with the forests of that region. In 1898 he became forester and chief of division (afterward Bureau of Forestry), a position he retained until removed by President Taft in

* Exclusive of 21,101,130 alienated acres.

1910. His work was primarily directed to forest conservation, but he saw the connection of the forests with the other resources of the country, and presently extended his campaign of education to the conservation of all natural resources which are limited in amount. Eager, virile, determined, an enemy to privilege and plunder in any form, Mr. Pinchot is an enthusiast who spares no pains to promote the cause he has at heart. Summer and winter he has battled unceasingly in behalf of future generations and of the best interests of this generation as well. In so doing he has made many bitter enemies, but he has helped to make conservation a reality.

Mr. Pinchot's influence with President Roosevelt was one of the determining factors which brought about the epoch-making conference of governors which resulted in conservation becoming a national movement. Of all the great gatherings which from time to time have assembled in the United States in the last half century this was undoubtedly the most pregnant with possibilities for the good of posterity. The date of the meeting was May 13, 1908; the place, the East Room of the White House. The President and Vice-President, seven members of the Cabinet, nine Justices of the Supreme Court, members of Congress, the governors of thirty-four states and representatives from the other twelve, the governors of Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Arizona and New Mexico, the president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and the members

of the Inland Waterways Commission made up the chief official part of this now historic assemblage. Included among the remainder of the audience were representatives from sixty-eight national societies, forty-eight general guests, and four special guests—Andrew Carnegie, James J. Hill, William Jennings Bryan and John Mitchell. A fifth special guest, Grover Cleveland, had been invited but on account of illness was unable to attend.

It was an exceptional assemblage called for a purpose of transcendent importance, and it served that purpose well. Public attention was fixed, not merely by President Roosevelt's presentation of the need of the hour, nor by the admirable speeches and papers presented by other public men and scientists, nor by the equally admirable resolutions unanimously adopted by the assembled governors, but by a combination of these and many other things contributing to a psychological situation the public effects of which, we may well believe, the President had shrewdly calculated in advance. To continue the work thus begun, the President created the National Conservation Commission with Mr. Gifford Pinchot at its head, while local conservation commissions were appointed in most of the states by the governors. At the President's invitation a North American Conservation Congress was held in Washington in February, 1909, at which delegates from Canada, Newfoundland and Mexico cordially cooperated with those from the United States. Notwithstanding the efforts of certain Con-

gressmen to starve the commission and keep its conclusions from the public, national conservation became an established entity, a settled policy in the minds of the American people.

Yet, though Americans irrespective of party are overwhelmingly favorable to conservation, the policy has its enemies. It seems incredible that a subject which has been so much discussed for several years could be misunderstood by any one of even moderate information and intelligence, yet such is the fact. There are thousands of people in the United States to-day who believe that conservation, "Pinchotism" some call it, means the locking up of our resources and throwing away the key. And this view is encouraged by better informed persons who have a pocket interest in defeating the movement.

The truth is that conservation means nothing of the sort. The movement has two important aspects: (1) the wise and scientific management of our national resources in ways best calculated "to secure their greatest use, both present and future"; (2) the adoption of a policy which will prevent private interests from plundering the national domain, which belongs to the whole people and should be administered as such. In bringing these two subjects to pass it may, of course, happen occasionally that some resources will be temporarily "locked up," but it is believed that this will be infinitely better than to leave them to be despoiled by predatory corporations as in the past. This, however, is merely a temporary

and incidental matter. The whole aim of conservation is Use, the greatest possible Use, consistent with wise economy. For example, the conservationists are anxious at the earliest practicable moment to develop every bit of water-power in the country in order to save coal. For our coal supply is a fixed quantity; when it is burned, the end has come; while our water-power, like the brook, goes on forever. "A waterfall harnessed is a coal mine saved."

"The national forests have been repeatedly charged with blocking the development of the West," says Forester Henry S. Graves. "Nothing could be further from the facts. Lands chiefly valuable for agriculture are available for settlement. Approximately one million two hundred and fifty thousand acres of such lands have been classified and listed for entry by the Forest Service, to the benefit of twelve thousand settlers. Prospecting and bonafide mining on the national forests are unrestricted. Sales of mature timber are encouraged by every possible means consistent with businesslike administration. Over fifty-six hundred timber sales are made yearly, ninety-five per cent. of them of small amounts for local use. Free timber is granted annually to over forty thousand settlers and prospectors for developing homes or mines. Water-power development is encouraged as far as practicable under the present inadequate laws. Some two hundred power companies are now using or developing sites within the national forests. The only restrictions imposed upon this wide-spread

use of the national forests are those required to maintain the permanency and value of the resources and to prevent monopoly."

What forward-looking man can doubt the wisdom of such a policy? Throughout the world the one great struggle is for bread. An eminent scientist has said that each night more than half the human family go to bed hungry, or at least without having received sufficient nourishment during the day to be most efficient on the morrow. Do we want our children to face such a future merely in order that we may have the pleasure of handing the remnant of our national forest to timber pirates and Alaska to the Morgans?

Wherever an outcry is raised against conservation an investigation will usually disclose a sordid motive. An excellent illustration is found in the history of the Olympic Forest in the state of Washington. At one time strong representations were made by interested persons that large areas of the forest in question were good agricultural land for which settlers were eagerly clamoring. Without making a careful investigation, the federal authorities yielded to the pressure and threw more than seven hundred thousand acres open to entry. The remainder of the story is thus told by a western man familiar with the facts:

"Did they materialize, those land-hungry settlers? They did not. But instead, an army of timber sharks descended like a swarm of buzzards upon a carcass, and inside of a few months over three hundred and

eighteen thousand acres of the seven hundred thousand had been transferred from Uncle Sam to the already immense holdings of two or three land and timber syndicates. The Milwaukee Land Company got away with eighty-one thousand acres, and the firm of James D. Lacy and Company nabbed fifty thousand acres more. And every quarter section of it covered with the best of timber. Besides this two hundred and five thousand acres more went into the hands of small holders who took it purely as a timber speculation.

"As for the settler, the chap for whom all this seven hundred thousand acres was supposed to have been opened up, nine years after the opening the Land Office records show that exactly one hundred settlers located on the lands and that by actual measurement the total acreage they had cleared was five hundred and seventy, or an average of five and seven-tenths acres each. And every settler in the lot was holding his land simply waiting for an opportunity to sell it to the timber syndicate for the timber on it."*

One aspect of the conservation movement which is not sufficiently appreciated by many people, and particularly by westerners, is that the national domain does not belong to the people of the states and territories in which it is located, but to every citizen of the United States no matter where his abiding-place may be. Just as the people of Oregon or Alaska have a proprietary interest in the Capitol and other buildings at Washington, so the residents of Washington City and other places throughout the Union

* *American Conservation*, June, 1911, page 169.

have a proprietary interest in the national forests and other reserves in Oregon and Alaska. Westerners frequently complain because so large a proportion of their states has been withdrawn from entry, but it was the nation as a whole that bought the Louisiana territory, which conquered and paid for the Mexican cessions, which established claim to the Oregon region and which purchased Alaska. If the nation decides that the interests of the country can best be served by keeping a fourth of a state as a perpetual forest reserve, it would be natural perhaps that the people of that state should grumble, but they ought to accept the situation philosophically.

As a matter of fact the Nation has been astonishingly generous to all the states and to these western states in particular. Its gifts of land to the states total about one hundred and eighty-five million acres, of which the eleven states west of the one hundredth meridian received nearly seventy-seven million acres, the average grant to the national forest reserve states being six million nine hundred and eighty-five thousand acres as against only two million nine hundred and twenty thousand acres to each of the other states. Furthermore, as a concession to local feeling, the Nation hands over for local road and school purposes one-fourth of the gross receipts from the national forests and itself spends large sums in opening trails and roads and otherwise improving the country. In the end it may well be to the advantage even of these states that the national domain should remain in pub-

lic hands rather than fall into those of a few individuals. Instead of exploiting and ruining in short order the forests and mines, as is too often the case with private ownership, the United States will cut timber as fast as it can be made to grow and control the development of other resources in ways calculated to make them a permanent asset. Thus, instead of desolated regions where no men can live, there will be forever rich storehouses which will furnish employment and livelihood to thousands and their descendants.

Four-fifths of the forest of the country has already fallen into private hands. It is estimated that of twenty-eight billion feet of merchantable timber now standing only about six billion feet remain under national control, whereas forty years ago three-fourths of the forest was still a part of the public domain. One of the most undesirable features of the change is that a very large proportion of the timber is controlled by a few very rich individuals and corporations. For example, according to state records, out of one hundred million acres of land in California, over eighteen million acres belong to thirty-five men, an average of five hundred thousand acres each. A single company holds two million acres of timber lands.

The conservation policy with regard to what remains of the public domain may be roughly summarized as follows: Agricultural land is to be put into the hands of individual farmers as fast as prac-

ticable, but mineral lands and water-power sites are to be retained under the control of the government. The timber is to be cared for, deforested areas are to be carefully reset and timber is to be cut in quantities consistent with maintaining the forest in good condition. Coal and other mineral lands and power sites are to be leased, and an income derived from them.

It is important from many points of view that the national forests shall remain in public hands. If we should allow them to fall into private hands much of the timber would be wasted and the future would be ignored. Public ownership only affords insurance that efforts will be made to safeguard the forests against fire. To this end and to that of restocking denuded tracts the forestry service should be enlarged and more generous appropriations granted it. The labor of protecting evergreen forests against fire is enormous and expensive. Not only must a regular patrol be maintained, but cabins and watch-towers must be built, telephone lines established, trails made, fire lanes cut, slashings and other inflammable debris burned. But the results are infinitely greater than the cost. Rapid progress has been made during the last decade with the result that in some years the area burned over in the national forests is almost as small proportionately as that in Prussia, two hundredths of one per cent., and this was accomplished at a cost in 1912 of only about two and a half cents per acre.

Another important reason why we must retain the national forests and even extend them is to insure adequate forestation upon watersheds and mountain slopes. It is well known that in countries where the head waters of streams have been denuded of their forest, floods become more frequent and destructive. In our own Middle West the frightful floods of 1913, which caused great loss of life and destroyed property to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars, were undoubtedly accentuated by similar causes; there are those who believe that unless preventive measures are taken a large part of the United States may reach a condition similar to that obtaining in the river valleys of China, where millions of people have been known to be drowned or rendered homeless by a single inundation. The situation is deemed so serious by those in authority that in 1913 Secretary of the Interior Garrison appointed a special board of army engineers to investigate and report on methods of flood prevention, while some of the individual states are also at work on the problem. But more is needed than investigations and reports.

Where the forest is preserved, a thick mantle of leaves and twigs covers the ground and beneath is a stratum of sponge-like humus, all of which absorb great quantities of water, while the inequalities of the ground, resulting from protruding roots and uprooted trees, further prevents too rapid a run off of the water and thus helps to equalize the flow of the streams throughout the year. Furthermore, forests

prevent the erosion of steep slopes and the consequent carriage into the rivers and valleys of silt and débris which ruin the land and impede navigation.

The national forests, however, are not the only field for the conservation of timber. We must everywhere reduce waste in logging and in milling and manufacturing wood products; we must adopt less destructive methods in the production of turpentine; we must extend the life of timber in use by applying preservatives such as creosote; we must, as far as possible, substitute other products for wood; we must utilize by-products to a greater extent than is now done; we must reforest burned-over areas, and we must fight insect pests, which in some regions are becoming as destructive as fire.* Both individuals and state governments must help in doing these things.

III

The North American Conservation Conference declared that mineral fuels "should henceforth be disposed of by lease under such restrictions or regulations as will prevent waste and monopolistic or speculative holding, and supply the public at reasonable prices." This has long been the custom in some European states, which derive large revenues from publicly owned mines. Such a policy is vigorously opposed, but merely because we have given away untold mineral wealth in the past is no reason why we should do so

* See Van Hise, *The Conservation of the Natural Resources of the United States*, page 223.

in the future. It is quite probable that the revenue which could ultimately be obtained from our publicly owned mineral resources would be sufficient to pay a large share of the expenses of the government. Furthermore, under the leasing system it will be possible to enforce strict rules designed to prevent waste in mining.

At present such waste is very great. Where two seams of coal lie one above the other and the lower is the better, it is not uncommon to mine it first, with the result that the poorer seam is so broken by the settling of the earth beneath that it can not be mined at all or mined only with great difficulty. Often only the best coal is taken out of a seam, that of poorer quality being left behind and lost, while hundreds of thousands of tons of slack are thrown away or burned, though it is possible to make it into valuable briquets by mixing it with coal tar and subjecting the mixture to compression. All told, the waste in coal mining often rises as high as fifty per cent. or even higher. Similar wastes take place in the mining of iron, zinc, lead and many other metals.

Coal is not only mined in a wasteful way, but it is also used in a wasteful way. Combustion is generally imperfect, and it is possible by the adoption of mechanical stokers to increase the heat efficiency of a ton of coal at least thirty-five per cent. Tens of millions of dollars' worth of coal every year escapes into the atmosphere in the form of smoke, and the damage done to property by this smoke has been esti-

mated as high as five hundred million dollars annually, to say nothing of the harm done to human health. In the manufacture of coke especially the loss is enormous, chiefly because the prevailing form of coke oven is the smoke-and-fire belching beehive oven. The retort oven, generally used abroad, not only yields more and better coke, but also a large quantity of valuable by-products in the shape of gas, tar and ammonia. It has been estimated that lack of progress in this matter in West Virginia alone costs in a year about twenty million dollars.

In order to economize coal the conservationists advocate the development of the water-power of the country to the highest point of which it is capable. The amount of energy of this nature which is now going to waste is almost beyond human understanding. It has been calculated that the stream flow of the United States is capable of developing even at the rate of the lowest two weeks of the year about thirty-seven million horse-power. This exceeds the total mechanical power now in use, and would operate every mill and factory, propel every boat and train and furnish light for the whole country. Only about one-eighth of this power is now developed. If flood waters were stored so that the stream flow could be better equalized, it would be possible to develop from one hundred million to two hundred million horse-power the year through. The saving in fuel which even the minimum power mentioned would effect would be enormous, for by all odds most of our fuel is con-

sumed in the production of mechanical power and light rather than for mere heating purposes. It should be said, however, that before this power could be properly distributed, we should have to discover better methods of electric transmission, as the available radius under present methods is only two or three hundred miles. Ultimately we may be using power developed by the tides, the wind and even by the sun, particularly in case some one invents a more practicable storage-battery that will solve the problem of utilizing these forms of intermittent power continuously.

The development of water-power is the most important conservation question now before the country. The problem is to secure as rapidly as possible development that shall be compatible with the best interests both of this generation and of those that shall come after. It seems almost criminal that we should be permitting so much energy to be utterly lost each year, but at present the saving of it is delayed by disputes regarding how such development shall be conducted. Until recently it was customary for the federal government to grant water-power rights in perpetuity without compensation and subject only to two restrictions: that development should not interfere with navigation nor with the ascent or descent of fish. But President Roosevelt foresaw early in his administration that the ultimate result of such a policy would prove disastrous to the people's interest, and in his veto of the James River Bill and in other

messages he announced the principle that no further permits for dams in navigable rivers or grants of water-power sites on the public domain should be permitted without a reservation of proper compensation and control. This policy was violently attacked by interested persons and adherents of the theoretical states' rights school.

After some years of debate these facts stand out clearly: (1) That over the national domain the national government has absolute authority. The Constitution plainly provides that "Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States," and the courts have interpreted this grant in a broad sense. (2) That the Nation controls navigable waters, and that its consent must be obtained before dams or other forms of power developments can be undertaken. If the government desires to limit such grants as to time and to exact compensation, it may plainly do so. (3) That over non-navigable streams outside the public domain the national government has no authority as regards water-power, and that it has lost effective control over water rights already granted save such as it might exercise through its power to regulate interstate commerce.

It is perfectly clear that the national government has the opportunity to control the future development of a large part of the water-power of the country, that it can fix rates, require federal incorporation

of development companies, and exact payment for the privilege of creating power. Other governments follow such a course, and it is for us to decide whether we wish to derive a revenue from this source or hand all privileges, including those of charging consumers excessive rates, over to private persons.

The desirability of retaining control over water-power is abundantly proved by conditions existing in certain sections of the country where such control has not been retained. At Los Angeles, Port Townsend and various other places all power sites along certain streams have fallen into the hands of a single company, yet perhaps only one or two sites are developed, the others being held for the future and as an insurance against competition. The rates charged consumers are often excessive, and the dog-in-the-manger policy regarding the unused sites retards the development of the country.

Water-power is, in fact, a form of natural monopoly. The possibilities it affords for abuse in case it passes out of public control are infinite, and not least of these is that most of such power might fall into the hands of a gigantic trust. It is almost certain that in the not remote future our chief source of energy will be falling water, and it is obvious that if most of this power should become concentrated the men in control of it would exercise an influence beside which that of Standard Oil or the Steel Corporation would fade into insignificance. The tendency in that direction is already alarming.

"Concentration in water-power has nearly doubled in the last two years," said Gifford Pinchot before the 1913 National Conservation Congress. "The ten greatest groups of water-power interests to-day control nearly twice as much water-power as the ten greatest groups controlled two years ago. The ten greatest groups of to-day control sixty-five per cent. of all the developed water-power in the United States; and a single group, composed of General Electric interests, controls forty per cent. of all the developed commercial water-power in the country. In the last five years the concentration of control by the ten largest groups has increased about seven times faster than the total of all water-power developments in the United States. If this is not monopoly in the making, where can it be shown?"

It is certain that we shall do well to be cautious in dealing with the water-power question, and that in future we should keep a string—and a strong one—to every water-power grant. Concentration in the development of water-power is more or less inevitable and in some cases may even be desirable, but we should retain a control which will enable us to reap the benefits of such concentration and to become its master rather than its servant. Those persons who pooh-pooh the idea of a power trust, now or later, are either interested parties or they betray a childlike faith in human nature that is not justified by the past history of monopoly in America.

Yet the leasing policy should not be too rigorous.

It is important that we should retain control, but it is also important that our water-power should be developed as rapidly as possible. The terms must be liberal enough to attract capital into such enterprises, for the outlay necessary to develop water-power on a large scale is enormous. We ought frankly to recognize that the men who perform such tasks are not pirates unless they prey on the people but, on the contrary, public benefactors and real conservators. On their part power promoters ought to recognize the reasonableness of popular control.

IV

The delay incident to the working out of a definite conservation policy has undoubtedly borne hard on our greatest territory, namely, Alaska. The natural resources of that country are large, though just how large we do not yet know, in spite of the fact that almost fifty years have passed since the enactment of "Seward's Folly." The yearly value of the fish, fur, copper and gold obtained there is about forty million dollars, or over five times the purchase price, but it is conceded that the mineral resources have hardly been touched. It is generally believed that the deposits of coal are particularly rich, though reports differ as to their value. The known deposits amount to over twenty-one million acres, and a large part of the country has not been examined at all. Much of the coal is anthracite or excellent bituminous

of high heat energy, but unfortunately it seems that in many places the seams have been so broken and crushed by seismic disturbances that mining will be difficult. Enthusiasts declare that the agricultural possibilities of Alaska are also very great, and point to the fact that its climate is not unlike that of Norway and Sweden; but to what extent the region will ultimately produce potatoes, barley, oats and similar crops only time will disclose.

During the decade 1900-1910 Alaska gained less than a thousand in population, and the inhabitants largely attribute the slow increase to governmental procrastination in caring for their interests. The two great needs of the country are better methods of transportation and coal. As regards the latter, almost nothing has been done in the way of development. The notorious Cunningham claims, championed by Ballinger and opposed by Glavis and Pinchot, have been declared invalid by the courts, and it is said that up to 1912 only two coal claims aggregating less than a quarter of a section had been passed to patent. Comparatively little coal has been mined in Alaska, but about one million five hundred thousand tons have been imported, which is certainly carrying coals to Newcastle with a vengeance. The Cunningham controversy and the alleged attempt of the Guggenheim-Morgan interests (popularly the "Morganheims") to gobble up the natural resources of the territory undoubtedly delayed the development of the coal areas, but Congress in 1914 passed a leasing law

that seems to be fair to the mining interests and safe for the public.

Alaska is a country of vast extent and enormous distances. The mighty Yukon affords entrance for two thousand miles to the heart of the country by steamer, but otherwise inland transportation must largely be carried on by dog-sledge, pack-train and on the backs of men. The only railways of importance are that over the Chilkoot Pass from Skagway to White Horse Rapids in British territory, a line about sixty miles long running north from the Seward Peninsula, and the Alaska Syndicate's (Guggenheim) Copper River and Northwestern Railroad from Cordova to Kennecott, one hundred and ninety-seven miles.

A railroad commission appointed by President Taft in 1912 reported in favor of the construction of two new lines, one from Cordova to Fairbanks, and the other from Seward to Ophir on the lower Yukon; the first to tap the Bering River coal-fields and to traverse the huge Yukon and Tanana Valleys with their great mining and agricultural resources; the second to touch the Matanuska coal-field, to run through the lower Susitna Valley and to open up the wide Kuskokwim Valley. In view of the natural obstacles to be overcome and the small amount of traffic, neither line was very attractive to capital, and President Taft, therefore, recommended that the federal government should build both roads, but his conservative tendencies caused him to advocate private opera-

tion. The Wilson administration, soon after its entrance to power, declared itself in favor of both construction and operation by the government, and in March, 1914, a bill appropriating thirty-five million dollars for the work received the President's signature.

Alaska forms a vast natural storehouse from which in ages to come this nation can draw for use and enjoyment. But it must be guarded carefully else it may slip through our fingers. It was a stupendous plan which the Morganheims are said to have conceived to master its wealth, but temporarily they were foiled. Our public servants must continue to watch over it narrowly, for its wealth is sufficient to tempt the powers that prey to any effort. Such a course may temporarily delay its development, but the time for its development is bound to come; companies that now scorn leases will probably scramble for them within ten years. And in the end it will be infinitely better for the people that what was bought with the people's money has remained in the people's hands.

V

The conservation movement has many other aspects which can not be considered in detail here. For example, the principle has recently been applied with promise of success to the protection of migratory birds which are valuable as game or as pest destroyers; and the act passed in 1913, largely as a result of

the energetic agitation conducted by Doctor William T. Hornaday, faunal naturalist and director of the New York Zoological Garden, will probably save some species from what would otherwise have been inevitable extinction. The conservation of the soil is a problem to which every farmer should devote himself. The growth of agricultural schools and the diffusion of the principles of scientific farming have already worked wonders in this direction. The conservation of man himself, by preventing accidents and stamping out disease, by segregating and sterilizing the unfit and promoting the science of eugenics, is a subject which in itself is large enough for an entire volume. When we learn that in a single year about five hundred thousand people are accidentally killed or injured in the United States, that the frightful mortality among young children is largely due to parental ignorance or bad food, and that among adults a large percentage of deaths is preventable, we realize that here is a broad field in which a vast amount of work must be done.* For of all kinds of waste, human waste is the most deplorable and the most expensive economically.

The principle of the conservation of natural resources has undoubtedly been accepted by the great majority of Americans, and yet it has some bitter and powerful enemies. Defeated in their efforts fur-

* Secretary of Commerce Redfield says that we can save the lives of "five hundred thousand people a year if we choose, and we are beginning to choose."

ther to despoil the national domain, the selfish interests opposed to conservation are seeking to obtain their object by raising the old issue of states' rights. They realize that as long as our domain continues in federal hands there will be slight likelihood of their obtaining their desires, and therefore they are advocating that each state shall control the natural resources within its boundaries, for they know that with this brought to pass the task of obtaining what they covet will be rendered much easier of accomplishment. They know that it is much easier to get what they want from a state than from the nation and, in fact, they already control some of the states in which much of the public domain is located. How local control is likely to work is well illustrated by events a few years ago in the state of Washington, where the governor and the land commissioner handed over immensely valuable lands and water-power sites to corporations for little more than filing claims.

In the interest of the spoliation movement a concerted attempt was made to pack the Conservation Congress of 1913, and the delegations from some states resembled a reunion of water-power lobbyists. An effort was made to put the Congress on record as favoring the state control of water-power sites and the abolition of forest reserves. When the scheme failed, the Arkansas delegation withdrew from the hall and threats were made that a new congress would be called, but the movement failed to materialize. The zeal of the water-power and other exploiting in-

terests for states' rights was really touching and if anything were needed to show where the real interests of the people lay, this alone would supply it. Henry S. Graves, national forester, has said with absolute truth: "The movement for state ownership is . . . a thinly disguised attack upon the integrity of the forests, and, through them, upon the whole conservation policy." We may rest assured that if the attack succeeds we shall soon witness a sad scene of despoliation. Happily President Wilson and Secretary Lane are both sound on the conservation question, and we may trust them to safeguard our interests.

No movement of recent years deserves more hearty encouragement and support than does the conservation movement. Narrow-minded and selfish arguments are still raised against it, but no schemes for individual or local advantage should be permitted to swerve us from the path we have marked out. To return to the old chaos of reckless waste and exploitation would be treason to posterity. In the words of Van Hise, "From the point of view of our descendants this question of the conservation of our natural resources is more important than any political or social question,—indeed more important than all political and social questions upon the solution of which we are now engaged."

It is true that a cynic now and then raises the old query: "What has posterity done for us that we should concern ourselves for posterity?" But such a question is unworthy of serious notice. We owe

a duty to the future just as we owe a debt to the past. We owe it to our children to do all in our power to make their lot as easy as we can and to diminish for them that struggle for subsistence which, as population increases and the world loses its pristine richness, threatens to grow more grinding and more bitter.

CHAPTER IV

THE BLOOD OF THE NATION

I

MORE than half a century ago Macaulay wrote to an American friend regarding American conditions: "Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World. . . . Wages will be as low and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams, and in those Manchesters and Birminghams hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometime out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test."

Notwithstanding our vast area and marvelous resources, there are many sections of America that have already begun to justify the great historian's remarkable prediction. Our "boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land" is virtually exhausted and valuable quarter sections can no longer be had for the mere entering. Wages are not so low as in the old world, but they fluctuate as much and the cost of

living is higher. We have our Manchesters and Birminghams and it is not an unknown thing for hundreds of thousands of our artisans to be out of work. And undoubtedly our institutions are being subjected to a closer scrutiny by a dissatisfied, not to say disillusioned, people than ever before.

If the population of the United States were better distributed geographically and industrially, such a condition of affairs need not exist. But it does exist, and many of its causes are obvious. About sixty-five millions of our people, or almost three-fourths of the whole number in the United States proper, reside in the region east of the Mississippi, although that region is less than one-third of our total continental area. Furthermore, of these sixty-five millions, thirty-three millions live in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts and New Jersey, whose total area is only two hundred and four thousand eight hundred and twenty-two square miles, less than that of the single state of Texas. Rhode Island, the smallest of all the states, supports a population of five hundred and eight and five-tenths to the square mile, while Nevada, the least thickly populated, has but seven-tenths of a person per square mile. The population of Massachusetts per square mile is four hundred eighteen and four-fifths; that of Wyoming, one and a half; of Montana, two and three-fifths; of Oregon, seven; of Washington, seventeen and one-tenth; of New Mexico, two and seven-tenths; of Arizona, one and four-fifths.

Some of these western states, of course, have not a large proportion of arable land, but any one who has seen the rugged hills that cover Massachusetts and knows how barren they are both of soil and minerals is aware that the old Bay State owes her large population to other causes than her wealth of natural resources.

The main cause of the inequalities just described lies in the fact that the chief influx of population into the United States has been through eastern gateways. It was true in the days of the Cavalier and Puritan, and it is true in this day of the Italian, Magyar, Slovak, Finn and Russian Jew. Just as the earliest colonists settled the land on which they first set foot, so now a great proportion of these latest comers do not penetrate far from tide-water. Many of them lack the money for the longer journey, but the concentration of industries along the eastern seaboard is also an important factor in determining where they shall settle. The two combined are largely responsible for the frightful congestion of population in eastern centers like New York City, where human beings dwell like sardines in a box, breathing and rebreathing air that has already served the lungs of other mortals.

Industrial causes, in fact, go far toward explaining the distribution of population. It is probable, for example, that if the United States had been on a free-trade basis during the last forty years the relative rank of several states would be utterly differ-

ent. The tariff has stimulated, some say it has overstimulated, manufacturing at the expense of other industries such as agriculture, for though agricultural products have likewise received protection it has been nominal rather than real: to a country which produces more foodstuffs than it can consume duties are not of great importance either way. As a consequence of the stimulation of manufactures population has developed most rapidly in manufacturing districts. This is the main secret of the rapid growth of population in such states as Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island; were the protection for the articles manufactured in those states entirely withdrawn there might be a diminution in the rate of increase if not an actual decrease in population. In fact, when the traveler surveys the rugged hills and rocky fields of New England and reflects that the section is obliged to import both its coal and its other raw material he wonders how the region has managed to keep the pace and is apt to conclude that ultimately it must witness a decided decadence in its industries.

Industrial conditions also influence the distribution of the sexes. Massachusetts, which has large cotton and woollen industries especially adapted to women workers, contains a female population of about 56,000 in excess of the male population, and is known among sociologists as a "she-state." Pennsylvania, with its mines and metal industries, demands men and has a male population about 220,000 in excess of the female population and is, therefore, a "he-state." In some

of the mill towns of Massachusetts the disproportion is yet more marked, and the same is true of certain western states, though for different causes. Nevada, for example, in spite of the presence of Reno within its borders, has 52,551 males and only 29,324 females. Wyoming, in which the disparity is next greatest, contains 91,670 males and 54,295 females. Even Utah contains 196,863 males and only 176,488 females.

In the United States as a whole the number of males is 2,692,288 in excess of the number of females, the ratio being 106 males to 100 females. In most European countries a reverse situation prevails. In England and Wales the number of males to 100 females is only 93.7; in France, 96.7; in the German Empire, 97; in Italy, 96.5, and in Russia, 98.9. The excess of males in the United States is chiefly due to extensive immigration, a much larger proportion of the immigrants being males than females. In 1907, for example, out of a total immigration of 1,285,349, only 355,373 were females. The greatest disparity between the number of the sexes is among the Chinese, with a ratio of 3,074.3 males to every 100 females; next come the Greeks, with 1,192.7 males to 100 females; then the Bulgarians, Servians and Montenegrins, with 1,107.8 males to 100 females; the Japanese, with 869.7 males to 100 females; the Turks from Europe, with 769.7 males to 100 females. Among the Irish born, however, the females outnumber the males in a ratio of 100 to 82.6, the explanation being the large

number of Irish girls who come to the United States to engage in domestic work.

In spite of the tendency toward concentration of population in industrial centers, the Far West is increasing in population with remarkable rapidity. In 1870 the population of the whole region beyond the Mississippi, excluding the older states of Texas, Iowa, Missouri and Arkansas and parts of Minnesota and Missouri, was only a million and a half; to-day it is upward of thirteen millions. Oklahoma, Idaho, Wyoming and Washington doubled their population in the decade 1900-1910, while such states as California, Nevada and Arizona have done almost as well and the end is not yet. From a material standpoint the settlement of the Far West has been one of the most important facts in American history during the last half-century, and the growth in population of these western states is the most desirable growth we are experiencing. It is a pity that the surplus population in congested centers of the East can not be induced to remove to the wide spaces of the West where there is room and fresh air for all.

Meanwhile the process of congestion continues. During the decade of 1900-1910 the drift of population to cities was even more decided than during the preceding ten years. In the period 1890-1900 the urban population went from 36.1 per cent. to 40.5 per cent., an increase of 4.4 per cent.; during 1900-1910 it jumped from 40.5 per cent. to 46.3 per cent., an increase of 5.8 per cent. In 1910, 42,623,383

persons lived in towns or cities of 2,500 inhabitants or more, the increase in urban population in ten years being 11,013,738; in the same period the rural population increased only 4,963,955. The proportion of urban to rural population in New England is about three to one, and in the Middle Atlantic region more than seven to three. The lowest proportion of urban population is found in the South, being only 25.4 per cent. in the South Atlantic division, 22.3 per cent. in the West South Central division, and 18.7 per cent. in the East South Central division.

The urban population of the country in 1790 was only slightly over three per cent.; it was only 20.9 per cent. as late as 1870. To-day New York City alone exceeds by more than a million the population of the whole country in 1790. Denver has a larger population than that of the six largest cities combined in 1790, and Philadelphia, the metropolis when the first census was taken, was about the size of the present Kalamazoo! No wonder that municipal government, a matter of little importance in the America of the eighteenth century, is one of burning importance in the America of the twentieth century.

During 1900-1910 many rural districts actually decreased in population. For example, seventy-one of the ninety-nine counties of Iowa showed a falling off, although the population of the state as a whole decreased only 7,082, the loss in rural population being almost made up by the increase in urban population. The decrease ran as high as nineteen per cent.

in the case of Adams County, and in many others was upward of ten per cent. A situation only slightly less marked was revealed in such states as Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota and Missouri, being most noticeable in the Middle West, though not confined to that section.

The causes of the rapid growth of cities are exceedingly complex. Undoubtedly one of the most important is the industrial development, already discussed, which has tended to result in a comparative overpopulation of a few states. Manufacturing is usually done in urban localities, and the growth of manufacturing enterprises creates a demand for labor, and the increase of the laboring population is accompanied by an increase of population such as storekeepers, saloon-keepers and boarding-house keepers, who minister to the laborer's wants. The increase in urban population comes in large measure from immigration, but the cities also draw heavily from the country.

II

The development of cities at the expense of rural localities is not peculiar to the United States, and it has been accompanied with a change in attitude toward country life. A century and a quarter ago country life was generally preferred by both English and Americans. In old English days no one could hope to attain much of a position in the world unless he was the owner of land, and merchants, manufac-

turers, professional men and other denizens of the cities were viewed condescendingly by the landed gentry. In fact, until the passage of the great Reform Bill of 1832 no man could vote in England unless he held land worth as much as forty shillings a year. This feeling regarding land and country life was transplanted in the Colonies, and we find that a large proportion of the Revolutionary worthies, notably Washington and Jefferson, were country gentlemen. Washington declared that "the life of a husbandman is the most delectable," and he was never so happy as when at Mount Vernon performing experiments in scientific agriculture; while Jefferson invented a mold-board plow and expressed the hope that America would always remain chiefly an agricultural country. With the industrial development following the War of 1812, however, a great movement to the cities began; country life fell into disrepute; dwellers in rural districts became the butts of cheap humor. Of late the pendulum shows some disposition to swing the other way, and Americans are again recognizing the truth of the old saying that "God made the country and man the town." Men of means, even though they may still reside in the city, are coming to consider a country place as desirable if not indispensable, and the slogan of "back to the farm" is being heeded by many persons of more moderate means.

A wide-spread feeling that something should be done to check rural depopulation and to improve rural living conditions resulted in the creation in 1908 of

the Country Life Commission, of which Dean L. H. Bailey, of the Cornell Agricultural School, was chairman while Gifford Pinchot was one of the best known members. This movement, begun by President Roosevelt, was not pressed with much vigor by his successor, but work of real value was accomplished and useful information was collected.

Movement of population from country to city is due in part to the fact that improvement in living conditions in the country has not kept pace with improvement in living conditions in the city. Electric and gas lighting, sewage disposal, bathing facilities and a hundred other improvements in the city of to-day over the city of a hundred years ago have not been matched by corresponding changes in rural districts. Country life has improved, of course, and yet too many farmers live much as their fathers and grandfathers lived before them.

The opportunities for getting ahead financially in the country are discouragingly small. The man of reasonable intelligence who owns a good farm within easy distance of a market is assured of a livelihood and may become reasonably well-to-do, at any rate he is one of the most independent beings in the world; but the country dweller who has little or no capital except his hands has a rather cheerless outlook before him. With the disappearance of free land and the consequent increase in land values in most of the older communities, the step from farm laborer to farm owner, once short and easy, has become hard and

long. The man who manages to take it is usually a renter who contrives to make money on leased land. Farm wages are comparatively low, and the average country laborer in the Middle West does not make over four hundred to four hundred and fifty dollars a year. If it were not for the low cost of living in the country, his lot would be perhaps the hardest of any worker in the whole nation; but rent is cheap, and with his house usually goes a vegetable garden; in many places he can obtain his fuel for little or nothing; and he manages to eke out a subsistence, though it is virtually impossible for him to save money. Even the sons of a farmer owning his land often find, or seem to find, no opportunities in the country. If a farmer owning eighty acres of land has four children, each will receive upon his death and that of his wife only twenty acres, which, as farms are now managed, is regarded as too small. Realizing this, some or all of the children early seek their fortunes in the city. This will doubtless continue to be the case until large scale cultivation gives way to intensive cultivation.

Life in the average rural community in the Middle West—the main farming region and that one in which rural depopulation is pronounced—is by no means as attractive as it might be made. During the busy season of the year the farmer and his sons and womenfolk labor from sunrise to sunset six days in the week, and after the cows are milked at night and the chores are done they are apt to feel too weary to

enjoy any amusement very much. Even were this not the case, their lack of opportunity would be likely to foreclose them against anything of the sort. Farmers have not yet realized the truth of the old adage that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, and have not given sufficient attention to the recreational side of existence. Even so, however, the lot of the man and boy in the country is much preferable to that of the women and girls, whose existence is too often one closed round of work and dullness. The men and boys do drive about the country a good deal, loaf at the corner grocery, go hunting or fishing occasionally, play croquet or baseball on Saturday or Sunday afternoon; but the women and girls wash and scrub and cook, can fruit, sew, sweep, churn, and when they do have a little leisure have small chance for enjoying it except perhaps two or three times a year at picnics and "festivals." Social life is mostly connected with the church and its affiliated societies, such as the missionary societies and the "Busy Bees." When one considers the possibilities for enjoyment that the country offers—opportunities of which the Virginians of the olden times took such delightful advantage—it seems deplorable that they are not developed. As it is, when we consider the deadly monotony of the average country community, it is little wonder that the lure of the city, with its lights, theaters and "something always going on," exercises a fascination over many a country girl and boy.

It is evident that country life is not properly or-

ganized, either from the economic or the social point of view. Just what should be done is not yet entirely clear, but it is certain that roads should be improved, cooperation between farmers extended, rural social centers developed, scientific agricultural methods introduced and a transformation wrought in the direction of intensive farming.*

Hitherto in this country land has been cheap and labor dear, and the main effort has been to raise the most possible per man rather than the most possible per acre. The result has been that by using machinery the American farmer has been able to produce more bushels of wheat and other crops per head than in any other country, but his yields per acre seem pitiable beside those of Europe. The time has come when we must change our object and thereby increase our total yield.

When the time comes that four acres instead of forty will furnish occupation for one man it is evident that there will be places at home for the farmer's sons. Rural mail delivery, the telephone, better roads and the parcels post have already done much to make country life more enjoyable.

It is reasonably certain that we are upon the eve of a revolution in rural affairs, and it is evident

* Since 1898 more than 34,000 plant varieties and species have been imported by the energetic department of agriculture, and twenty-five plant explorers are constantly ransacking the world for more. The work done along this and other lines has laid the basis for the transformation of American agriculture. For an account of cooperation see Chapter X.

that the public would welcome it. Many an over-worked clerk, who spends long hours indoors at a desk at some other man's beck and call, is wondering these days if he did not make a mistake in leaving the old farm, in spite of the trials of hopping clods and milking half a dozen cows. Yet others who were brought up in the city and who hardly know oats from wheat and suppose that potatoes grow in the air on vines have been vaguely stirred by a desire to try their luck as tillers of the soil. In the last few years persons of both classes have been forsaking the city and making the experiment. Some few are succeeding; others are realizing that agriculture is an industry that calls for muscle, persistence, capital and special knowledge, all of which they do not possess, and as a result there is a sort of "back to the city" reaction from the "back to the farm" movement.

III

The most significant fact revealed by statistics of population is that the very blood of the nation is changing. Immigration has attained stupendous, almost terrifying, proportions. In prosperous times the horde which in a single year enters New York harbor, the chief port of entry, has more than once exceeded the total number of the Visigothic nation which in 376 crossed the Danube and began the barbarian migrations into the Roman Empire. In the years following the panic of 1893 immigration was

comparatively small, the lowest point being reached in 1898, with 229,299, when the Spanish-American War also exercised a deterring effect; but with the return of peace and prosperity the number sprang to 857,046 in 1903, to 1,026,499 in 1905, to 1,100,735 in 1906 and to 1,285,349 in 1907. The financial flurry of that year reduced the number in 1908 by half a million, for immigration ebbs and flows like the tides, but it again passed the million mark in 1910 and 1913 only to fall off greatly in 1914, as a result of the war. As many as twenty thousand have arrived in New York harbor in a single day and more than fifty thousand in a single week. They come from every country under the sun and speak virtually every language that trips from the tongue of man. By no means all remain, but a majority do so. The net increase in 1913 was 815,303.

The influx is so prodigious that some observers fear that just as Rome fell because there ceased to be any real Romans, so America may fall because there will cease to be any real Americans. Most of the immigrants are poor and, much more serious, most of them are ignorant. Of the 838,172 who came in 1912, over 177,000 were unable either to read or write and comparatively few were well educated. Their civic and moral standards are often low and their customs differ widely from those of the country to which they come. To transform the mass into Americans tests the capacity of the greatest "melting-pot" the world has known.

Undoubtedly our salvation from the flood in the past has been the Americanizing influence of our public schools and of our language and literature. The work done in this direction by the public schools is too well understood to need discussion, but it is doubtful if the influence of language and literature has ever been sufficiently emphasized. The fact is that comparatively few children born in America of immigrant parents ever learn the language of their forefathers. As a rule the parents, with commendable good sense, realize that, having cast in their lot with the new land, it will be best that their children should speak the English tongue, and it is a matter of pride with them that their offspring shall speak it as other children do. The motives which caused the Frenchman in Alsace and the Pole in East Prussia to fight the German language and struggle to retain his mother tongue do not obtain in the United States; for the United States does not require that any one shall learn English, and in consequence every alien who comes here is anxious to do so. Being admitted to equal citizenship at his own request only, he feels that there is no effort to force him to lose his national identity, and is glad to transform himself into an American.

Even in cases where sentiment inspires a desire on the part of the parents that their children shall know the tongue of the fatherland conditions are usually against the fulfilment of the desire. Except in a comparatively few localities where the immigrants

outnumber the rest of the population, the playmates of such children are likely to speak English, the schools are conducted in English, and the result is that comparatively few children ever acquire more than a smattering of the mother tongue. In some districts, to be sure, private and parochial schools help to preserve foreign languages, and such tongues as German are taught in some of the public schools, while in most large cities newspapers printed in European languages find many readers; and yet all these things combined do little toward staying the triumphant march of the all-conquering English tongue. Even where the parents earnestly desire to preserve their language and customs they are likely to find themselves foiled by the desires of their offspring. Children, as a rule, dislike to be different from other children, because it provokes ridicule, and it is almost universally the case that the children of immigrants want to be Americans in customs and language.

There are, of course, districts in cities such as New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee and Boston where one hears little "American" spoken. In the French quarter of New Orleans one occasionally meets grown persons unable to speak English whose ancestors have been Americans for more than a hundred years, and a similar situation obtains in certain Spanish communities of the Southwest; but, taking the country as a whole, there exists the most astonishing uniformity throughout our broad continental

home. Local dialects exist in New England, the South, Indiana and elsewhere, and in any great city one can find persons who understand and use virtually every language known to man; yet, in the larger sense, there is less difference between the English spoken in Maine and that in California than sometimes exists between adjoining English shires. Alien-speaking dwellers are so intermixed among the English-speaking inhabitants and cling with such little persistency to their mother tongues that we have no problems such as exist in the polyglot Austro-Hungarian Empire, with its score or more of languages. In unity of language, one of the great elements of nationality, there is hardly an important European power which enjoys greater uniformity than does the United States. There are hundreds of thousands of people within our limits who do not speak our tongue, but they are usually anxious to learn it. In fact, if immigration were to cease to-day, in the course of another generation the knowledge of foreign languages would be practically confined to scholars.

People who speak the same language read the same literature. The text-books used in the schools are virtually the same from Florida to Washington and from Maine to California. The same is true of the works of English and American authors. And when two persons read the plays of Shakespeare and the novels of Hawthorne, or even the works of E. P. Roe or Laura Jean Libbey, they are certain to develop a certain amount of like-mindedness. News-

papers and magazines exert probably an even greater Americanizing influence.

The extent to which immigrants—even Jews—are outwardly assimilated is astonishing, and yet it may be doubted whether the real assimilation is as thorough as is often supposed. The ability to speak and write our language, to wear American clothes, to play American games, does not necessarily mean complete Americanization. Heredity can not be overcome so easily, and the public schools, though they accomplish much, can not wholly triumph over blood and alien influences.

IV

Opinions may differ as to the effects of immigration on the United States, but observers are usually in accord as to the general effect on the immigrants themselves. Take your stand in the visitors' gallery in the great building on Ellis Island and watch a cargo from Mediterranean ports pour into the hall below and thence move like cattle in a stock-yard into passageways made by iron railings, before lynx-eyed inspectors and examining physicians on the alert for any physical, mental or moral defect that will exclude a would-be American from his dreamed-of paradise. The immigrants are unkempt and dirty, they are outlandishly dressed, some perhaps with sheepskin coats or Turkish fezzes, many bear great bags filled with divers personal belongings and shamble forward bent over by their loads. They look

ignorant and blank of face, though stolid countenances are here and there lit up with anxiety; in truth, they are dazed and doubtful, and they are wondering, "Will they let me in?" "Will Pietro come to meet me?" Your heart goes out to them, despite their filth, for you realize that they are on a "Great Adventure," the outcome of which means all in all to them and to those dear to them. Some receive the fatal "P. C." card and go heart-broken to the detention room. The rest pass on and out by different exits: some to the sweatshops of the East Side; some to the factories and mines of Pennsylvania; some to the mills of New England; some to the slaughterhouses of Chicago; and some—fortunate mortals—to the broad plains and free spaces of the boundless West.

If you will take your stand some years hence beside the gangway of an ocean liner, you will behold another and smaller tide which contains a part of these same immigrants. They are going back to visit the scenes of their childhood. But what a transformation! They are not all steerage passengers now. Many go second cabin, and a few mingle with millionaires on those decks which indicate that they have taken first-class passage. Even those in the steerage are well dressed. They actually look alert and intelligent. They move along with the confidence of men who know that there is a place in the world for them. Some of them may be ignorant and vulgar, some of those in the second cabin may be men who

have made their money over the counter of a liquor saloon, but almost without exception they regard themselves as Americans. When they get to the other side, they will wear American flags in their button-holes, if they do not carry larger ones in their hands, and throughout their stay they will sing the praises of the Wonderful Land, the land where everything is bigger and better and more wonderful than in any other land. That Land has wrought its miracle on them. They have sought opportunity and found it. And when one reflects upon the millions of similar transformations that have been wrought, it is enough to make the most determined opponent of immigration pause for a moment and ask himself: "After all, should we close the Door?"

If the life stories of the immigrants who in the last seventy years have sought a new home could be written by the pen of a master, what a panorama of human experience would be unfolded! Irish men and women fleeing from famine and finding bountiful food and pleasant homes; ardent German patriots like the noble-hearted Carl Schurz, driven from the Fatherland and entering on honorable careers, advancing liberty in a new continent; Norwegians, Swedes, Hungarians, Italians, Russian Jews, Finns and peoples of a dozen other nationalities leaving lands of oppression and hardship and coming with little capital but their own stout hands and hearts, and winning happiness in a better environment. More than one writer has tried to tell the epic story,

but none perhaps has better caught its spirit than Mary Antin, wide-eyed traveler from Polotsk to Boston, and now the happy wife of a distinguished American scientist. In *The Promised Land* she writes:

"I am only one of many whose fate it has been to live a page of modern history. We are the strands of the cable that binds the Old World to the New. As the ships that brought us link the shores of Europe and America, so our lives span the bitter sea of racial differences and misunderstandings. . . . I began life in the Middle Ages, and here I am still your contemporary in the twentieth century, thrilling with your latest thought. . . .

"I thought it miracle enough that I, Maschke, the granddaughter of Raphael the Russian, born to a humble destiny, should be at home in an American metropolis, be free to fashion my own life, and should dream my dreams in English phrases. . . . What the child thinks and feels is a reflection of the hopes, desires, and purposes of the parents who brought him overseas, no matter how precocious and independent the child may be. Your immigrant inspectors will tell you what poverty the foreigner brings in his baggage, what want in his pockets. Let the overgrown boy of twelve, reverently drawing his letters in the baby class, testify to the noble dreams and high ideals that may be hidden beneath the greasy caftan of the immigrant."

But it would be easy to look too long at the bright side of immigration from the point of view of the immigrant. By no means all who come here attain competence or even comfort. It is undeniable that

many of them, such as go, for example, to the ghettos of our great cities or to the mines of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, often find themselves in a less healthy environment morally and physically than that from which they came. Mr. H. G. Wells denies that America always makes a man of the newcomer. "It seems to me," he writes, "that all too often she makes an infuriated toiler of him, tempts him with dollars and speeds him up with competition, hardens him, coarsens his manners, and, worst crime of all, lures him and forces him to sell his children into toil. The home of the immigrant in America looks to me worse than the home he came from in Italy. It is just as dirty, it is far less simple and beautiful, the food is no more wholesome, the moral atmosphere is far less wholesome; and, as a consequence, the child of the immigrant is a worse man than his father."

One of the arguments advanced by the advocates of immigration is that it helps to relieve the terrible congestion of population in Europe and hence benefits not only those who come here but those who remain behind. It is questionable, however, whether there is any real relief, for the vacancy left by the immigrant is quickly filled by the birth of another child who otherwise would never have been begotten. As the population tapped by the "new immigration," that is, the region of southern and eastern Europe, totals more than two hundred and fifty millions, it is evident that even if each immigrant left an unfilled gap, we could do little toward relieving the pres-

sure of population without being ourselves swamped in the process.

V

The vast influx we are already receiving has many serious aspects and not least of these is the changing character of the immigration. Irish, English and Germans formed most of the tide which flowed through Castle Garden in the ante-bellum period. People of these races continued to come, but in the seventies and eighties emigrants from other nations began to set their faces westward in large numbers. Swedes, Norwegians and Danes made up a large part of the swarm that settled the Dakotas and other northwestern states, transforming the prairies into wheat lands. Of late more southerly peoples—Poles, Magyars, Slovaks, Russian Jews, Italians, Greeks and Syrians—are flocking in and, now that free land is practically exhausted, are too often adding to the congestion of population in metropolitan centers. It is not so much that they wish to settle in cities, for a large proportion come directly from the soil, but industrial development has created a demand for them in urban districts and they respond to it.

In 1860 there were only 25,061 persons from Austria in the United States; in 1880 there were but 124,024; by 1910 the number had increased to 1,174,924, of whom 28 per cent. spoke Polish, 18.7 Bohemian or Moravian, 13.4 German, 10.6 Yiddish or Hebrew, 10 per cent. Slovenian, and

other such languages as Italian, Roumanian, Ser-
vian, Lettish and Greek. In 1860 the num-
ber of Hungarians in the United States was so
small that no effort was made to enumerate them;
by 1870 the number was 3,737; in 1900 it was
145,714; and in 1910 it was 495,609. In 1860
the number of Italians was only 11,677; in 1880,
44,230; in 1900, 484,027; in 1910, 1,343,125.
In the half-century the number of Russians (largely
Jews and Poles and Finns) sprang from 3,160 to
1,732,462. In the same period the number of Irish
born decreased almost 260,000 and the number who
entered in 1912 was only 25,879; the German born
inhabitants increased from 1,276,075 to 2,501,333,
but in the decade 1900-1910 the number decreased
over 300,000, and the German immigration in 1912
was only 27,788. The German government, in fact,
has striven to prevent immigration except to its own
colonies, and the German newspapers have refused to
print advertisements designed to stimulate immigra-
tion into the United States. Furthermore, the gov-
ernment has done much to better the condition of the
laboring population, and this amelioration in their
condition, combined with German industrial and colo-
nial expansion, greatly diminished German emigration
to America. Other northern and western European
countries are pursuing a somewhat similar policy, and
it seems likely that the chief source of future immi-
gration into the United States will be southern and
eastern Europe. What Woodrow Wilson said in his

History of the immigration in the period of 1890 is even more applicable to the immigration of to-day and to-morrow.

“Immigrants poured steadily in as before, but with an alteration of stock which students of affairs marked with uneasiness. Throughout the century men of the sturdy stocks of the north of Europe had made up the main strain of foreign blood which was every year added to the vital working force of the country, or else men of the Latin-Gallic stocks of France and northern Italy; but now there came multitudes of men of the lowest class from the south of Italy and men of the meaner sort out of Hungary and Poland, men out of the ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence; and they came in numbers which increased from year to year, as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population, the men whose standards of life and work were such as the American workmen had never dreamed of hitherto.”

It is easy, of course, to overemphasize the difference between the “old immigration,” composed chiefly of Celts and Teutons, and the “new immigration,” made up of Latins, Magyars, Finns and Slavs. Many of the Irish and even some of the German immigrants of sixty and seventy years ago were illiterate and accustomed to living conditions which were doubtless almost as bad as those of the Slovaks and Russian Jews of to-day. Paddy, the bog-trotter and future

alderman ("introjucin' a bill"), kept his pig in the parlor of his straw-thatched hovel, loved "the creature" to distraction, and rarely possessed intelligence of a very high order. Both "Micks" and "Dutch" were regarded by many Americans of the day as inferior beings and hence undesirable, and the feeling against them culminated in the Know-Nothing party which carried several states and even seemed likely to control the national government. And yet, when all due allowance is made, the unmistakable fact remains that English, Scotch, Germans, Scandinavians and Irish were more easily assimilated than are the peoples of the "new immigration," for they were more like the original American stock and their institutions and habits of thought were less divergent.

The darker aspects of immigration are strikingly shown in the statistics of pauperism and crime. In the thirties, when immigration had hardly begun, paupers were virtually non-existent, and both Harriet Martineau and Alexander de Tocqueville commented on the fact. That day is long past. Prescott Hall estimates that in the state of New York alone \$12,000,000 is annually expended for the relief of the foreign-born poor; while of every ten persons buried in New York City one goes to the Potter's Field. The poor would be with us doubtless even if there had not been an immigrant for a hundred years, but immigration has made the burden heavier. In 1903 the number of paupers of foreign birth enumerated in

almshouses amounted to three-eighths of the whole, although the foreign-born population was only about one-seventh of the total population. Of this number the Irish contributed an altogether undue share, namely forty-six and two-fifths per cent., their percentage of the total foreign-born population being only fifteen and three-fifths per cent. The Germans came next with twenty-three and three-fifths per cent., which was about four per cent. less than the German percentage of foreign-born population. The "new immigrants" make a good showing in this respect, partly because of stricter tests of admission and partly because most of those who come over are comparatively young and few have been here long enough to become incapacitated for labor. In the matter of crime the foreign-born population, in spite of Black-Handers, shows almost to as good advantage as do the native-born. It is noteworthy, however, that the percentage of juvenile delinquency among the children of immigrants is two or three times as great as among the children of native parentage; while investigations of the white slave traffic, about which we have recently heard so much, indicate that the "whole trade is fundamentally an affair of the foreign population." In the matter of insanity the foreign-born inhabitants show to very poor advantage, as they contribute almost a third of the whole number. European governments, in fact, have repeatedly been guilty of dumping their insane, their criminally inclined and their paupers upon our shores in order to

be rid of them, and much of our immigrant legislation is designed to prevent the entrance of such classes.

Another serious aspect of immigration is that it tends to drag down the American working man. In the anthracite coal region, for example, the miners down to 1880 were mainly English-speaking, with a fairly high standard of living. Since that time there has been a tremendous influx of Slavs and Italians and the struggle for domination has been a bitter one. The newcomers are generally content to live almost like pigs in a sty, eating the cheapest food and herding together a dozen or more in a room. They will work for almost any wages offered, and as a result the old class of miners have been driven out or reduced to a lower level of existence. In 1890, out of 171,000 foreign-born miners, only 43,000 were Slavs and Italians; in 1900, out of 194,000, there were 89,000; and in 1910, out of 267,000, the number had mounted to 178,000. The great strikes of 1900 and 1902 were in large measures episodes in a stupendous conflict of races. Says Frank J. Warne in *The Immigrant Invasion*:

“We have no official bulletins or reports of the numbers that fell in this sharply waged contest. While it was not fought with swords and guns and pistols it was none the less a battle. While the fields were not strewn with the mangled bodies of those dying from saber cuts and gunshot wounds, none the less of equal destructiveness were the marks left upon

those who sought retreat from its horrors in hospitals, almshouses, insane asylums, and like institutions. Many a pauper's field marks the resting-place of men and women who fell in that struggle. . . . Many a worker and many a family were prevented from raising their standard of living; others were compelled to lower their standard, while for many more the struggle merely to exist was a most severe battle for the necessities of life. The pressure upon some mine workers was so great as to force their boys of tender years into the breakers and their girl children into the silk-mill in order that the pittance they earned might aid in supplying the family needs. This competition of the Slavs and Italians affected the lives of hundreds of thousands of people; it determined the number of births in a community; it influenced powerfully the physical and mental qualities of those born into the world under such stress of conditions; it was a powerful, dominant force at work in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania during the twenty years prior to 1900, threatening and retarding communal advancement and attacking those institutions which we justly prize so highly, sending influences for evil deep down into the very foundation of our social structure."

Similar conditions have developed or are developing in many other industries. One need cite only the state of affairs recently revealed in the textile industry by the Lawrence strike, and the disclosures concerning workers in the steel industry made by the investigations of the "Pittsburgh Survey." The newcomers are even driving the negroes out of many occupations formerly regarded as particularly their

sphere. Twenty years ago most of our waiters, cooks, barbers, footmen, bell-boys, porters, janitors and bootblacks were Africans. To-day our shoes are blacked by Greeks and Italians; the Italians are grasping the barber trade; various nationalities are becoming cooks, waiters, bell-boys, porters and janitors; and the negro is being forced to the wall by races who are more efficient and have a lower standard of living.

Immigrants come and go, taking millions in money away with them. Once the immigrant had little thought of returning to his former home. To-day many of them have little thought of staying. Some are like birds of passage, coming for the summer and returning home in the fall. The Slovaks from Hungary are especially likely to come with the intention of remaining merely until they can lay up a competence. Their standard of living is almost as low as that of the Chinese. They herd promiscuously in any room, shed or cellar, with little regard to sex or sanitation. "Their demand for water," says an American consul, "is but very limited for the use of the outer body as well as the inner." They drink "slivovitz," a sort of brandy made from potatoes or prunes. They wear sandals and caps and clothes of sheepskin, which latter also serve as their bed. They are excessively ignorant, nor do they seem to have any thirst for learning. About all that can be said to their credit is that they are hard workers when sober, that they are devoted to their families

at home, to whom they send money and to whom they hope to return when they have amassed a "fortune" of a few hundred dollars.

VI

It is obvious that immigration not only lowers the standard of living among working people but that it also reacts upon the physical, mental and moral make-up of Americans. At present there is no fixed American type, nor can there be as long as new and strange materials are being dumped into the melting-pot. It is certain that the American of to-morrow will be different from the American of to-day, just as the American of to-day differs from the American of yesterday. The laws of heredity are not all definitely determined, and there has been much foolish writing on the subject, but enough is known in purely physical matters at least to enable us to say that about the same rules hold with regard to humankind as hold in the animal kingdom. As man is but a higher animal, why should it be otherwise? The foal of a Percheron dam by a Percheron sire is, of course, a Percheron. The children of negroes are negroes, with the negro's black skin, thick lips, prognathous jaw and kinky hair. The children of Jews have their parents' prominent noses and other physical attributes. Like breeds like, and when the unlike mate together the progeny have some of the characteristics of both parents. It is beyond serious question that

the vast infusion of southern European blood which is each year passing into American veins is certain to work marked changes in the physical appearance of Americans. It is reasonable to conclude that the future American will be shorter in stature, swarthier of skin, that his skull will be shorter and broader, that probably his nose will be more prominent than is the case to-day.

Mental, moral and temperamental changes equally pronounced are certain, though they can be forecast with less assurance. The southern European is more excitable, more passionate, more imaginative, more docile under despotism, less successful in governing himself than the peoples who formed the original American stock. The Jew from whatever country has his own business code, his own religion and a peculiar ability to get ahead in the world. It is reasonable to suppose that the characteristics of the new immigration will react on the institutions, manners, customs and mental make-up of Americans. Perhaps we shall be more artistic than hitherto but more emotional and less able to govern ourselves.

We hear much these days of "eugenics," or the improving of the human stock by mating men and women on scientific principles, but it is evident that talk of such improvement is idle when each year we permit a million persons of a lower intellectual and physical level to come among us and help to propagate the Americans of the future. Scrub stock inevitably lowers the breed, whether the animals in

question be horses, cattle, hogs or men. It is clear that we and our ancestors here in America missed one of the greatest opportunities for an experiment in improving the human stock ever vouchsafed to any people. Had we chosen, we might have imposed physical and mental qualifications for entrance which would have excluded undesirables and tended to raise instead of lower the general level of our population. In time we could doubtless have produced a race several inches taller than any yet developed; we could have improved the average beauty of the human face and form; we could have bred a sturdier, healthier, more intelligent race in every respect. But we did not do so. We have been content to let things take their course in this as in many other things, and we are still admitting annually hundreds of thousands of human beings whose admixture with the old American stock means an inevitable depression of the standard.

The influence of the immigrant tide on the blood of the nation is all the more marked because the birth-rate among the population of the older stock is decidedly less than among the newcomers. "Race suicide" among the native stock, especially of the well-to-do class, is no idle sensational theory but a real fact and, particularly in such sections as New England, it threatens the very existence of the old American strain. Many causes enter into consideration, such as the increase in the number of the unmarried, the effort of married couples to reach a

higher round on the social ladder and more widespread knowledge of methods of control; but, not least of all, conditions arising out of immigration. It has been held by some writers that this is not a cause, and in support of their contention they point out that the decrease in the birth-rate is practically world-wide and that in the United States the main decline has been among classes who do not compete with immigrants. It is true that the decline in birth-rate is not confined to this country, and it is also true that the rate among the well-to-do and fairly well-to-do has dropped more rapidly than among the poorer classes, so that, as the Frenchman once observed, "All the little families live in the big houses, and all the big families live in the little houses"; but the dread that their children may at some future time be compelled to compete in the bitter struggle for bread which they see going on about and beneath them is often present in the minds of even comparatively wealthy persons. Good fortune is uncertain and, after all, comparatively few Americans possess enough wealth to enable them to provide for the future comfort of many children. American husbands and wives of the middle class are likely, therefore, to consider: "Can we give him the opportunities he should have?" before they bring another child into the world. Thus the influx of immigrants, by intensifying the struggle for existence, has practically forced native-born Americans to rear fewer children. Some classes of the new arrivals multiply

like the beasts of the field, giving little or no thought to the future of their offspring. "William does not leave as many children as 'Tonio, because he will not huddle his family into one room, eat macaroni off a bare board, work his wife barefoot in the field and keep his children weeding onions instead of at school."

To put the subject another way: immigrants not only compete ruinously with the native Americans, lowering their standard of living, but they bear the children which native American women would have borne had it not been for their presence among us. More than one sociologist asserts that our population to-day would not have been much smaller than it is even though not an immigrant had entered our gates for fifty years.

VII

The highest proportion of foreign-born population in the various sections of the country is in New England, where it amounts to twenty-seven and nine-tenths per cent.; the next highest is in the Middle Atlantic states, twenty-five and one-tenth per cent.; the third highest is in the Pacific states, with twenty-two and four-fifths per cent. The South contains comparatively few foreign-born inhabitants, the West South Central states have four per cent.; the South Atlantic states two and one-half per cent.; and the East South Central states, only one per cent. The explanation of this scarcity is, in large measure, the

presence of the negro, with whom the immigrants do not care to compete.

The tendency of the immigrants to concentrate in a few sections and states is decidedly marked. About eighty-four out of every one hundred immigrants are living in the North Atlantic region (the Middle Atlantic states and New England) and the North Central states; while nearly one-half of the total are crowded into the four states of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

In no large section of the country is the transformation wrought by immigration in the last half-century more pronounced than in New England. Unlike New York and Pennsylvania, which almost from the beginning were a meeting ground for many races, New England was long almost wholly English in blood, the ratio being probably as much as ninety-eight per cent., even as late as 1800. At present English blood constitutes only a small fraction of the total. First came the French Canadian and Irish swarms; now southern European peoples are trooping in. As fast as the sons and daughters of New England followed Horace Greeley's advice to "go West," their places were taken by foreigners. In 1910 the number of foreign-born whites in New England was 1,814,386 out of a total population of 6,552,681; while the number of native whites of foreign or mixed parentage brought the number of persons of foreign white stock up to 3,867,095, or considerably more than half of the whole.

The foreigners do the rough work in town and country. They fill the factories and textile mills. Even the fishing industry is fast falling into their hands, and, as a New England owner of fishing boats said to me not long ago, "It will only be a question of a short time before the old Salts of New Bedford and Gloucester will all be 'Dagoes' or Greeks." Not long ago I chanced to be on a wharf at Boston where the small fishing and crabbing boats come in, and among the half-hundred fishermen in sight I did not see a single one who looked as if he were a native-born American.

The foreign element is particularly strong in Massachusetts, where it totals 2,229,692 out of a population of 3,366,416, that is, about two-thirds of the whole. In some mill towns the proportion is decidedly higher still, being 103,000 out of 119,000 in Fall River, 85,000 out of 106,000 in Lowell and 73,000 out of 85,000 in Lawrence. Even Cambridge, the seat of Harvard University, contains 74,000 out of a total of 104,000. In Boston the white native-born population of native parents amounts to only 157,000 out of 670,000.

It is obvious that the foreign influx must have worked decided changes in the social fabric. The transformation in the matter of religion is perhaps the most striking. New England, as everybody knows, was settled by Puritans who fled beyond seas to escape the relics of "Popery" in the Anglican Church and to put their own religious ideas into prac-

tice. They made everything subsidiary to that one great end. Said the Massachusetts General Court in a letter to Charles II: "This viz our liberty to walke in the faith of the gospell with all good conscience according to the order of the gospell, . . . was the cause of our transporting ourselves, with our wives, our little ones and our substance, from that pleasant land on the Atlanticke Ocean into this vast and waste wilderness, choosing rather the pure Scripture Worship, with a good conscience in a poore, remote wilderness, amongst the heathen, than the pleasures of England with submission to the impositions of the so disposed and so far prevayling hierarchie, which we could not do without an evill conscience." The Puritans were exceedingly jealous of all who differed with them in spiritual matters; they persecuted the Antinomians and Baptists; they whipped and hanged intruding Quakers; and they kept a sharp lookout at all times against anything savoring of "Popery." When in 1686 a clergyman of the Church of England, under countenance and protection of the king's agent, celebrated the Anglican worship, with prayer-book and the usual accessories, in the "Town House" at Boston it caused great scandal; and some of the people called the clergyman "Baal's priest," while one of their ministers from his pulpit denounced the "praiera" as "leeks, garlic and trash."

To-day New England is the most Catholic section of the country, with the single exception of the Mountain states. The Catholics outnumber the Protestants

in every New England commonwealth, and in the section as a whole by two to one, or 1,891,724 Catholics to 934,247* Protestants. In the old Bay State there are 1,080,706 Catholics to 449,358 Protestants. Boston is a Catholic city. Its mayor and most of its officials are Catholics. The spires of a cross-crowned cathedral rise high above the tower of the Old South Church, and cassock-clad priests patter their prayers within ear-shot of the most sacred precincts of the Puritans. Assuredly it is enough to make Winthrop, Cotton and the Mathers turn in their tombs, and it is a cause of some heartburning and furtive conversation among their descendants. *Tempora mutantur!*

Almost from the beginning New York City has been the abode of a cosmopolitan population, and to-day it is the modern Babel. It contains more Jews than ever lived in Jerusalem except during the feasts of the Passover, more persons of German extraction than reside in any German city except Berlin, more people of Irish blood than inhabit Dublin, more Italians than in Venice or Naples. There are more Cohens than Smiths in its directory, and the Hebrew population almost equals the old American stock, which numbered in 1910 less than a million out of 4,800,000.

VIII

Who is it that wants the immigrants? Not the farmer, who is usually prejudiced against "Dagoes,"

* In 1906.

"Hunyaks" and "Sheenies." Not the laborer, for he knows that they lower his wages, pull down his standard of living and increase its cost. The American working man has "protection" against cheap European goods but none against cheap European labor. One result of the protective tariff has been that instead of goods being manufactured abroad and sent hither in the ordinary course of trade, cheap foreign labor has been imported and the goods have been produced on our own shores. To be sure, there exists a law against the importation of contract labor, but the law is frequently violated. It has been no uncommon thing for manufacturers and other employers to import cheap foreign labor in order to reduce wages or to prevent wage increases. Usually it is not necessary to violate the letter of the statute, as it is sufficient for an employer to let his employees know that work will be given their relatives and friends if they will come over.

Immigration has rarely benefited the consumer. Had the goods he uses been produced abroad and sent in without payment of a duty, the price exacted would not greatly have exceeded the price prevailing abroad. But, as it is, the goods made at home have been sold at home at the foreign price, plus the tariff, plus what it would cost to bring competing goods hither. It may confidently be predicted that the reduction of the tariff will ultimately not only diminish prices but that it will tend to diminish the importation of cheap labor. More goods will be

imported but fewer immigrants. It can not be doubted that the excessively high tariff laws of the last thirty years have been responsible for the entrance of several million immigrants.

Mine owners, mill owners, contractors, railroads, steamship companies and the Catholic Church are the main influences interested in preserving practically unlimited immigration. Mine owners, mill owners and contractors desire abundant labor at the lowest possible rates, and the immigrants supply it. The railroads also want low wages, and they derive a profit from carrying the immigrants. With the ocean steamship companies the desire to transport the immigrants is the main motive. Business is business, and little do the steamship magnates—most of them foreigners—care if they lower rates of labor and the standard of living and introduce alien elements that threaten American institutions.

The main incentive to emigration to America is at present an economic one. A desire for freedom of conscience or for relief from political oppression is sometimes a motive, and those who are actuated by it are likely to be the most desirable class of newcomers, but a much larger number are chiefly influenced by the hope of higher wages in the new land. This latent desire is made the most of by would-be employers and by the steamship companies, and immigration is artificially stimulated. It is the opinion of more than one investigator that the number of foreign-born would not much have exceeded half its present num-

ber if it had not been for the work of these interested parties.

Agencies have grown up in the United States with branches in Europe which advance money or transportation to foreigners who agree to come to the United States and work for them. These agencies contract to supply labor to large employers, and out of his wages the immigrant refunds the amount that has been advanced, plus a handsome profit.

The business of transporting immigrants across the Atlantic averages about \$75,000,000 a year, and the steamship companies endeavor to keep it as near a maximum as possible.* The countries from which the immigrants come, says the United States commissioner-general of immigration in his report for 1910, are full of "promoters, steerers, runners, sub-agents and usurers, more or less connected with steamship lines, the great beneficiaries of large immigration," and the countries are flooded with glowing and not always truthful descriptions of the opportunities the United States offers. The more immigrants the steamship companies "bring over the more there are to be carried back if failure meets the tentative immigrant, and the more are likely to follow later if success is his lot. Whatever the outcome, it is a good commercial proposition for the steamship lines."

The companies realize that they have "a good thing" and are constantly on the alert to safeguard

* Much the same thing is being done at present to stimulate immigration into Canada.

it. Every proposal to limit immigration meets their powerful opposition. When an immigration bill has been under consideration, they have been known to threaten congressmen with defeat at the next election in case they supported it. Through their advertising the companies exercise enormous influence on the attitude of newspapers and magazines toward the immigration question and other matters in which they are interested. The foreign companies are, in fact, banded together to defend their interests, and annually expend tens of thousands of dollars influencing legislation and public opinion. Should a magazine enter on a campaign in favor of limiting immigration, it would at once lose their advertising and might feel their power in other ways. Editors realize this and act accordingly. Not long since a contributor to this series went to the editorial office of a leading magazine with a proposal to write an article revealing the secret machinations of the foreign ship-owners to prevent Americans from reaping the full benefits of the Panama Canal. The editor admitted that the idea was a good one and that he would like to publish such an article. But he picked up a number of his magazine and turned to a full-page advertisement inserted by one of the foreign companies. Words were unnecessary.

The Roman Catholic Church is not usually listed as an influence upholding immigration, yet such is the case and the reason is obvious. That church is anxious to strengthen its foothold in America. It

desires to obtain a larger membership, not merely in gross numbers but proportionately. Proselyting, increase in Catholic families and immigration are the three methods by which the object can be accomplished. A very large proportion of present-day immigrants are Catholics, and naturally the church dignitaries are averse to seeing this source of renewed strength closed.

IX

But neither sentiment nor the arguments of interested parties should prevent the American people from looking the immigration problem squarely in the face. It is important that we should conserve our natural resources, but it is infinitely more important that the American standard of manhood and womanhood should not be lowered. While we were a weak nation in danger from the great powers abroad it was perhaps well not to be too critical of those who volunteered to join us. But that day is past. Quality not quantity should be our aim in the future.

If the production of wealth is the all-important consideration, then of course immigration should be allowed to continue unchecked; but if the welfare of our American working men, the future of American political, social and intellectual life are to be put into the scale, then decidedly immigration should be restricted or wholly prevented. Hitherto this latter view has prevailed only in the case of the immigration

of yellow-skinned Celestials, but the time may come when it will prevail in that of immigrants from Europe. The Immigration Commission, appointed in 1907, concluded, after a long and exhaustive study of the subject, that the industrial expansion of the last twenty years would have attained smaller proportions without the "new immigration," but it held that "a slow expansion of industry" is preferable to the "immigration of laborers of low standards" and it recommended that at least "a sufficient number be barred to produce a marked effect upon the present supply of unskilled labor."

The existing immigration act, passed in 1907, provides for a head tax of four dollars on all immigrants, except those from Cuba, Mexico, Canada and Newfoundland, and excludes idiots, the feeble-minded, insane persons, paupers, persons afflicted with tuberculosis or other contagious or loathsome disease, persons likely to become a public charge, women coming into the country for immoral purposes, procurers of such women, anarchists, polygamists, contract laborers and other undesirables. The Dillingham-Burnett Bill of 1913 provided for a literacy test, applying to adult males and to some others. To be eligible for entry the immigrant must be able to read a passage selected by an examiner, the candidate to have the choice of what language the passage should be in. The bill embodied several of the recommendations of the Immigration Commission and would have excluded by the hundreds of thousands persons who are, to

say the least, poorly fitted for citizenship. It had the support of the American Federation of Labor and of many other organizations, but it was bitterly opposed by the interests already named as favorable to immigration, and President Taft vetoed it. The Senate promptly passed the bill over his veto, but in the House the necessary two-thirds vote could not be obtained. The same influences have fought restrictive measures under the Wilson administration.

The European war has caused a decided decrease in immigration, and through the destruction of multitudes of men will tend to relieve congestion of population in a number of countries. But the war will be followed by hard times, and doubtless millions of people will desire to quit lands likely to be visited again by such a catastrophe. We can not, therefore, depend upon the war permanently to solve our immigration problem.

Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and there are many people who believe that self-preservation demands that we adopt a new policy on the immigration question. They hold that it is infinitely more important to the world that our American experiment should continue to succeed than that we should continue to receive immigrants. Our ancestors made a grave mistake in importing the Negro—to develop the country!—and we ought to consider whether we are not making an even graver one in permitting the influx of swarms whose ways are not our ways and whose blood is not our blood.

For the mistake of our ancestors in regard to the negro we are still reaping a bitter penalty, but this is a subject of such magnitude that its consideration must be reserved for a separate chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE COLOR LINE

I

THE yearly influx of eight hundred thousand or a million European immigrants is a serious matter, yet most of these belong to the white race and can, in a fashion at least, be assimilated. The thought of a native American marrying a Russian, an Italian, a Swede or even a non-Caucasian but Europeanized Magyar rouses little or no objection. It is otherwise, however, with twenty millions of human beings of different race and color residing within the limits of the United States and its dependencies. What shall be the place of these twenty millions and their descendants in the America of the future?

The problem is not peculiar to the United States. It is world-wide. Wherever, be it in the United States, British Columbia, India, Australia, South Africa or the Balkan peninsula, two unlike races are thrown in contact, there the problem arises. And it seems to be becoming more wide-spread rather than less so. Improved methods of communication, widening commercial and colonial undertakings are constantly lengthening the skirmish line. In India the

British rule the Hindus, meet them on occasion socially, even mingle their blood with them illicitly, but the two races do not coalesce and will not coalesce in spite of the fact that a large proportion of Hindu blood is Aryan. In British America and Australasia the bitterest feeling exists toward Chinese, Japanese and Hindu laborers, and Vancouver vies with San Francisco in mobbing the despised Oriental. In South Africa the importation of yellow coolies has given rise to a grave situation, while the relations between whites and blacks are more vexing in many respects now than when Colonials and British regulars met in battle array the naked spearmen of Cetewayo and Lobengula. Furthermore, the awakening of such "inferior" races as the Chinese and Japanese is complicating the color problem. In other days it was safe to pull the pigtail of a "Heathen Chinese" or otherwise to fall upon him, but such innocent diversions are likely to be less safe in the future; already it is dangerous to take liberties with a Japanese, who, though small physically, is a citizen of a country which recently whipped one of the great powers. The so-called backward races are rising, and as they rise they become proud and sensitive and insist that a white skin is not the only badge of power and equality. In fact if we consider the subject in all its aspects it is hardly too much to say that the problem of the color line is one of the biggest problems of the ages.

The twenty millions who make up the problem in

the United States and its dependencies belong to four of the great branches of the human race, the Amerind or Red Indian, the Malayan, the Mongolian or Turanian and the Ethiopian. The number of Indians within the United States proper was in 1910 about 265,000, with an indeterminate number additional in Alaska; of Chinese, 71,531; of Japanese, 72,157; of negroes, 9,827,763, with some hundreds of thousands, chiefly of mixed blood, in Porto Rico. The population of the Philippines is about 8,460,052, of which number a small proportion is Caucasian or Mongolian, the native population, divided into many tribes, being, with the exception of some aboriginal Negritos, Malays.

The Indians have ceased to be a problem of much magnitude as far as the nation at large is concerned. Their number, including those of mixed blood, is probably almost as great as at any time since the days of John Smith, "Emperor" Powhatan and "Princess" Pocahontas; but the danger of Indian war has passed, and the comparative number is too small to make their presence much felt except in restricted localities. Furthermore, the race is in most places in process of absorption by the Caucasian population. Intermixture of blood, though less common than in Canada where the French were the original white settlers, has never been regarded with the same prejudice as intermixture with negroes, and one President boasted of his relationship with the aborigines. The fact that Indians are allowed to play upon the Big

League baseball teams, while negroes, except "Cubans," are not tolerated, affords an excellent illustration of the differing attitude of the public toward the two races. Intermarriage is forbidden in only a few states such as Arizona and California, where the Indians for the most part are lower in the scale than elsewhere. The Indians on the reservations are better cared for than ever before; their total land holdings, scattered through twenty-six states, aggregate an area twice the size of New York. In many localities they have turned farmers and are prosperous or even wealthy; some, to be sure, are degraded and miserable, victims of "fire-water," tuberculosis and venereal disease; but on the whole the material lot of the race is probably the best in their history. The glorious scalp-lifting days are gone forever, but the young men can now win championships at Olympic meets and mow down opposing batsmen in world series.

II

Vigorous enforcement of the exclusion law has done much to solve the Chinese problem in the United States. Evasions of the law, though frequent, are not numerous enough to balance the number of Chinese dying or returning to their native land; and, as the Chinese females in the country number only 4,675, the Chinese birth-rate is negligible. In 1910 the total Chinese population was 71,531, as against 89,863 in 1900 and 107,488 in 1890. With the de-

crease, hostility to the Chinese has died out; and instances of mob violence directed against them, once common, are becoming comparatively rare. At present the Chinese question is not an important one, nor is it likely to become so until China forges to the front as a world power and demands a change in our immigration laws.

The Japanese in the United States in 1910 numbered only a thousand more than did the Chinese, but they constitute a problem infinitely more fraught with momentous possibilities, though rather in an international than in a domestic way. The reason is obvious. China is as yet a weak power, scarcely able to prevent her own partition. She can not stretch forth a mailed fist and say to the nations of the world: "You must give equal privileges and protection to my children dwelling among you." With Japan it is otherwise. In a short time she has made herself a redoubtable antagonist. And she is jealous of the treatment accorded her subjects abroad.

The relations of the United States and Japan have until recently been most amicable; one might almost say that a state of romantic friendship has existed between them. The Japanese regard Admiral Perry as one of the creators of the new Japan and feel that but for him they might still be a hermit nation. A few years ago they erected a monument to him on a promontory overlooking Yeddo Bay, the only monument to a foreigner, it is said, in all the Flowery Kingdom. Furthermore, Japanese remember that the United

States was the first power to advocate the abolition in their country of the system of consular courts, a symbol of inferiority. American feeling toward Japan was long exceedingly friendly; America was Japan's best customer and took a decided interest in her art and civilization. The United States sent hundreds of teachers to Japan, and received many Japanese young men and women into her own colleges. American sentiment in the time of the Russo-Japanese War was almost wholly with the Japanese, and Japanese victories aroused almost as much enthusiasm as if won by American arms.

But soon after the peace of Portsmouth a change took place, and that change was due largely to Japanese immigration. In 1890 there were only 2,039 Japanese in the whole United States; but about 1899 a movement of Japanese laborers into Hawaii and the United States began so that the number in the United States proper in 1900 had increased to 24,326; with the return of peace immigration swelled rapidly and bade fair to assume enormous proportions. Americans quickly discovered that they liked the Japanese much better in the abstract than in the concrete. He was admirable in his native land but an undesirable neighbor in America. The resultant antagonism was partly economic, though this by no means tells the whole story. Pacific coast working men began to feel the competition of cheap laborers with a lower standard of living and to resent it, but beneath this lay something deeper.

In the final analysis the hostility to the Japanese was a manifestation of the old race prejudice and antagonism, the irrepressible struggle, which invariably results in any land when two races of differing colors try to dwell together. As has been aptly said, it was a question of race prejudice sharpened to a keener edge by economic competition. The people of the Far West transferred to the Japanese their hatred of the Chinese and raised the new slogan, "The Japanese must go!"

But the new game was more dangerous than the old. The Chinese of the days of Kearneyism could have given Moses "pointers" in meekness; but these "Japs" are a proud people, as touchy and susceptible to affront "as Sir Walter's Hieland laird, walking the streets of Edinboro, hand on basket hilt, and sniffing the air for an affront." When in 1906 the San Francisco school board, urged on by the labor element, passed an order segregating "Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and other Mongolians" in separate schools, Japan protested. If the order had applied to all nationalities there would have been no protest; but the Japanese objected to being singled out and classed as Mongolians, for they contend that the aboriginal Ainus from which they largely descended are Caucasians. To be sure, the order involved only about ninety Japanese children, but it was principle Japan was contending for. Americans in the East protested that it was absurd to endanger the peace of the country over such a small stake, but the West replied:

"You do not and can not understand the situation." And the West continued its anti-Japanese propaganda. Happily President Roosevelt was able to persuade the people of California to refrain from anti-Japanese legislation at that time and to induce the school board to rescind the obnoxious order but only on condition that steps should be taken to exclude Japanese laborers from the country. Here again the problem was a delicate one. The Japanese people would have resented an exclusion act even more than segregation in schools, but a way was found out of the seeming *impasse*. A "gentlemen's agreement" was reached to the effect that the Mikado's government would refrain from granting passports to Japanese to go to the United States, except to certain limited classes, while the United States took steps to prevent Japanese and Koreans entering the United States from the insular possessions and the Canal Zone or from foreign countries other than Japan. As a result, Japanese immigration virtually ceased. The number in the United States actually diminished. The problem seemed practically solved.

But in 1913 race antagonisms, sharpened once more by economic competition, came to the front and precipitated another crisis. The California legislature, in spite of urgent appeals from President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan, passed almost unanimously a law forbidding aliens ineligible to citizenship to acquire and hold agricultural land. Now the Japanese, being in the eyes of American courts

Mongolians, are ineligible to citizenship, and hence are precluded from buying and holding land in California. Japan has protested, but as yet has not gone beyond protest.

It is difficult to see any real justification for such a law. Much could be said in favor of the agitation resulting in the ending of Japanese immigration. The Japanese are an alien people in blood, religion and political ideals, and would be difficult to assimilate. The great mass of Americans undoubtedly are opposed to their coming among us in large numbers, and every nation ought to be the judge as to whom it will receive within its borders. But there was no danger that the Japanese, decreasing in numbers as they were, would acquire any dangerous amount of land. In fact, they owned only about 16,000 acres out of a total of 11,000,000 acres under cultivation. Had they been Italians or Germans little would have been said in favor of such a law, but the fact that they were of different color aroused the old racial antagonism. This and not economic competition was the decisive factor, for few of the inhabitants of California felt their competition but virtually all supported the bill. A single incident of the struggle brings the color phase of the controversy out in sharp relief. While the bill was being considered its opponents were given a hearing, and employers of labor, the head of the Panama exposition and others made arguments against it.

"When they were done," says a magazine writer,

"a farmer from over near Elk Grove was given the floor. He was a tall, pantherish sort of a man, a deadly-in-earnest sort of a man who nervously stroked his whiskers as he talked to the legislators.

" 'My neighbor is a Jap,' he said hastily. 'He has an eighty-acre place next to mine and he is a smart fellow. He has a white woman living in his house and upon that white woman's knee is a baby.

" 'Now what is that baby? It isn't white. It isn't Japanese. I'll tell you what it is. It is the beginning of a problem—the biggest race problem that the world has ever known.'

"And in that instant every objection to the bill was swept from the minds of California's legislators."

Happily Japan did not carry her protest to extremes, perhaps because of praiseworthy forbearance, perhaps because she is a poor nation, hardly a tenth as wealthy as the United States, with a national debt of over twelve hundred million dollars that necessitates an already crushing burden of taxation. But it is always unsafe to irritate a proud, even though a poor, people too much. It is true that many people foolishly insist that "we must whip Japan sometime anyhow, and the fight may as well be now," but this is jingoism pure and simple. The interests of both nations will be far better served by peace than by war. Even victory over Japan would do the United States no good, and at best victory could be won only after a costly and bloody conflict.

It must be admitted, however, that peace will be

more likely to be preserved if the number of Japanese in the United States continues small. However much we may deplore race prejudice, it is a fact which can not be gainsaid. Should the checks on immigration be removed it is certain that friction would increase. As has well been said, the presence of five hundred thousand Japanese in the United States would soon make war inevitable. As for Japan, she should respect the desire of Americans to preserve their racial solidarity and not insist on the right of her people to migrate hither. Americans on their part should deal justly with Japanese already in the country and refrain from unjust discrimination.

III

The Japanese race question as far as America is concerned is international rather than domestic, and in a sense the same is true of the race problem presented by possession of the Philippines. These islands are not as yet an integral part of the United States, nor are the native inhabitants yet admitted to citizenship. In fact the party in power stands definitely committed to freeing the islands. That party fought the campaign of 1900 mainly on the issue of anti-imperialism, and in three subsequent platforms it has continued to declare in favor of independence for the islands.

The Philippine question is essentially a race question. When the subject of retaining the islands first

came before the nation much was said about their being outside the western hemisphere, which is regarded as the American sphere of influence; but the great ground of opposition to their retention was the fact that, unlike any previous acquisition, they were thickly inhabited by a large population of non-assimilable people. Color, not distance, was the main objection. On the other side there was much talk about the alleged wealth of the islands and of trade's "following the flag"; but the chief argument was that the Filipinos, "half devil and half child," were incapable of governing themselves and that the United States must act as their guardian.

To-day one hears little but this argument, and thus the emphasis upon race is greater than ever. The dream that "the white man's burden" would prove immensely profitable has been largely dissipated. Instead, the islands have proved a heavy burden financially. According to an official estimate made by the War Department in 1902 they had already cost about \$170,000,000, in addition to the purchase price of \$20,000,000; since then enough more has been expended to bring the amount up to about \$300,000,000, without taking into account the value of lives lost, the pensions paid to soldiers, and other indirect expenses including the cost of an enlarged navy. At present the government of the archipelago is self-sustaining except that the United States pays the expenses of the military establishment, which consists of about thirteen thousand American regulars

and about five thousand Filipino scouts, involving an expenditure of from ten to fourteen millions yearly.

From a military and naval point of view the islands, lying detached and far distant from our shores, are a liability rather than an asset; and it may be set down as practically certain that in case of war with such a power as Japan they would be conquered within a few weeks, for from the northernmost island when the weather is clear one can see the coast of Formosa, held by Japan, and it would be an easy matter to land an overwhelming force in the islands within a few days. A strongly fortified port or two for use as a naval station would be of value and could be held at least for months, but the task of defending the whole country would necessitate a much greater army and navy than we now possess. As it is, we maintain in the islands a force large enough to keep the people in subjection but not large enough to repel a serious invasion from without.

The gain on the credit side of the ledger has been slight, nor is the future promise great. The total imports and exports of the islands to and from the United States in 1912 amounted to only \$42,121,932, of which sum, of course, only a small part was profit to the United States, probably considerably less than the outlay for defense. The trade with the United States has increased since possession began, and particularly since the passage of the favorable Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act of 1909, but the immediate prospects of any further decided expansion are not encour-

aging. It is inconceivable that the islands will ever become the home of any considerable number of white Americans, partly because they lie in a tropical region unsuited for white habitation, partly because they are already as thickly populated as Indiana. It is almost equally improbable that the Filipinos will for generations at least be fitted for American citizenship, or that the admission of the islands as a state in the Union would be desirable. As long as we retain the islands the inhabitants must probably remain a dependent people under the protection of the United States.

The obstacles in the way of independence are, however, many. The inhabitants belong to different tribes and races, speak different languages, have different religions, and some are civilized while others are the lowest of savages, hunting human heads as their most beloved diversion. The total population in 1903 was 7,635,426, of which number 647,740 were "wild"; 7,539,682 were Malays; 42,097 belonged to the yellow race; 24,016 were blacks, mostly aboriginal Negritos; 14,271 were members of the white race, more than half being Americans; and 15,419 were of mixed blood. About ninety per cent. belonged to the so-called Christian tribes, the remainder, with the exception of those of foreign blood, being pagans or Mohammedans. Americans who favor retaining the islands contend that it is exceedingly improbable that on such a basis an enduring form of self-government could be built, and assert that

independence would soon be followed by anarchy. Many, therefore, including some who are by no means in love with "imperialism," incline to the belief that it would be better for the United States to retain its authority. They believe that the chief wrong to the Filipinos, if there was a wrong, has already been done, whereas benefits are now being conferred, and they point to many improvements in sanitation, education and government to justify American occupation. It ought to be said, however, that the Filipinos almost unanimously dislike American rule and keep up a constant clamor for independence.

American advocates of independence usually suggest either a protectorate similar to that exercised over Cuba or else that a guarantee of the neutrality of the islands, similar to that of Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, should be obtained from the great powers. The Democratic platform of 1912 said: "We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutrality of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers." In the Sixty-second Congress, W. A. Jones of Virginia, chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, introduced a bill to grant the Filipino people a provisional government from July 4, 1913, the same to continue until July 4, 1921, when they should receive complete independence. The bill was not, however, brought to

a vote. A similar but much less definite bill was considered by the Sixty-third Congress.

President Wilson realizes that our duty toward the Philippines is a "difficult and debatable matter. . . . We must hold steadily in view their ultimate independence, and we must move toward the time of that independence as steadily as the way can be cleared and the foundations thoughtfully and permanently cleared." He has given the Filipinos a majority of the Philippine commission, so that now they control both branches of the legislature. He thinks that in this way "we shall make proof of their capacity in counsel and their sense of responsibility in the exercise of political power," and that we should gradually "put under the control of the native citizens of the archipelago the essential instruments of their life, their local instrumentalities of government, their schools, all the common interests of their communities, and so by counsel and experience set up a government which all the world will see to be suitable to a people whose affairs are under their own control."

This policy is perhaps wise, and yet it may be doubted whether it is definite enough to satisfy the Filipinos, who have hitherto regarded the Democratic party as their liberators.

IV

More vital than any of the race problems yet considered, because more intimately connected with our

own institutions, is that of the negro in America. Almost as ancient as that of the Indian, this problem has been acute for well-nigh a century, and yet it is still unsolved if not unsolvable. Between ten million Americans and the rest of their fellow citizens runs a line which sets them apart and, if the truth must be told, condemns them to a position of decided inferiority irrespective of their individual merits.

In 1910 twenty-six states, either by statute or constitution, forbade the intermarriage of negroes with Caucasians. In this number were included all of the sixteen former slave states, usually designated as the Southern States, and Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon and Utah. Such mixed alliances are declared void, while the contracting parties are held guilty of a "misdemeanor" in some states, of "felony" in others and of "infamous crime" in yet others. The punishment varies from imprisonment for ten years at one extreme in certain southern states to a minimum fine of fifty dollars in Colorado, while in Texas no penalty at all is imposed on the negro participant.

A few states impose heavier penalties for illicit relations between whites and blacks than for such offenses between persons of the same color. In Alabama, for example, a negro and a Caucasian convicted of living together for one day with intent to continue the relation are liable to the same penalty as for intermarriage, namely, imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than

seven years. In Florida and Nevada the penalties may be no heavier than a simple fine, but Louisiana has a more drastic statute, passed in 1908, which provides that concubinage between a negro and a white person is a felony, punishable with imprisonment of from one month to one year.

These statutes were chiefly designed to break up the custom of concubinage between white men and colored women, as the extent of illicit relations between black men and white women is small. In Louisiana the prevalence of the offense had become a state disgrace. In certain rural districts the race barrier had practically broken down, while even in New Orleans it was no uncommon thing, following an evil custom that had obtained before the war, for a white man of means to keep a colored mistress. When in Louisiana a dozen years ago studying the race problem, the author heard of many such cases. At one of the negro universities in New Orleans, the president of which was a northern white man, I had pointed out to me two handsome girls who were the offspring of such a left-handed alliance. Their mother was an octoroon, and they were practically white. "They are cultured and refined," said the president's wife. "If I were to take them North with me they could hold their own in the best white circles, and no one would suspect their origin. They are ladylike and well behaved, but surely they can hardly view moral questions as we do."

The Civil Rights Act of 1875, a measure enacted

as a sort of legal monument to Senator Charles Sumner, undertook to secure for the negro the full and equal enjoyment of public conveyances, inns, theaters, etc.; but the act was held unconstitutional, and in consequence the negro's rights in such matters are dependent upon state action. Most of the northern states subsequently enacted laws providing for equal treatment for both races and, generally speaking, persons in such states discriminating against negroes may be indicted and fined or imprisoned or sued for damages by the aggrieved party. In general, the courts have interpreted these state civil rights acts very strictly, and if a place is not specifically mentioned in a statute, they have been very slow to include it under the head of "other places of amusement or accommodation."

One result of the downfall of the federal Civil Rights Act was the passage of the famous "Jim Crow Laws." All of the former slave states with the single exception of Missouri have such laws separating the races on railroads, and some states have similar requirements regarding steamboats and street-cars. Separation in waiting-rooms and railroad dining-rooms is also the general rule. Separate railroad cars are usually provided, but on street-cars the white passengers are usually assigned to the forward seats and the colored passengers to the rear seats. These laws tend to lessen race friction, but they are humiliating to the negro passengers, and sometimes occasion real hardships. For example, it

is usually impossible for a negro passenger to obtain a sleeping berth, and in case such a passenger in Illinois, for example, crosses the Ohio River into Kentucky he must give up his berth and retire to the colored coach. Too often, also, the railroad company provides better accommodations for its white passengers than for its colored ones, even though the latter pay the same fare.

No southern state permits colored and white children to attend the same public schools, while Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Tennessee extend the prohibition to private schools as well. Florida recently enacted a law forbidding white persons to teach in colored schools or vice versa, one object being to strike a blow at northern endowed schools for negro children. California, Indiana, Kansas, Wyoming and Arizona provide for separate public schools under certain conditions, but permit the attendance of negro children at white schools in case separate schools are not provided. On the other hand certain northern states expressly forbid segregation. In general, in those states providing for separate schools, equal "accommodations, advantages and facilities" are required or assumed; but, as we shall see later, the requirement is often loosely construed.

The provisions of the fifteenth amendment prohibiting the denial to citizens of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" would seemingly stand in the way of any legal discrimination against the negro's political rights

but, as everybody knows, ways have been found for evading the constitutional prohibition. Following the downfall of the Reconstruction governments the negroes in the southern states were virtually disfranchised by force or fraud, but in 1890 Mississippi evolved a plan whereby the end sought could be attained in a quasi-legal manner. To-day every one of the former Confederate States, except Florida, Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas, have suffrage requirements which practically eliminate the negro from politics, while even in the four states named as exceptions he is not much of a factor. By educational or property tests the mass of ignorant and poor negro voters are excluded, while loopholes are provided for ignorant and poor whites in the shape of "Grandfather clauses," or "Understanding clauses," which last white registration officers can apply rigidly to negroes and leniently to whites. The avowed purpose of these "suffrage amendments" was to eliminate the negro from politics and, in spirit, they certainly violate the fifteenth amendment and also lay the states which have adopted them liable to that section of the fourteenth amendment which provides for a reduction in representation in proportion to the number of citizens excluded from the suffrage; but the Supreme Court has always carefully evaded the constitutional issue, while Congress has not seen fit to reduce the representation of any state. In view of the existing political situation it is improbable that anything will be done to nullify the suffrage requirements.

Legal distinctions and discriminations are mostly confined to the South, but race prejudice, resulting in less formal but not the less effective distinctions and discriminations, is to be found in practically every northern community. In some localities such prejudice may be more or less dormant, but it exists and is apt to display itself at any time. Negroes are excluded from hotels, Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A.'s, theaters, saloons and are even refused interment in white cemeteries—in some cases in direct violation of local laws. Even when such a violation is undeniable it is often impossible because of public sentiment to recover damages or to secure the punishment of the violator. A negro magazine publishes each month a department called *Along the Color Line*, and the number of instances of race discrimination which it gathers together in the course of a year is astonishing.

It is undeniable that the negro is less popular in the North than he was thirty years ago. Then the segregation of colored government employees, such as recently took place in Washington in some departments, would have aroused a tornado of protest; now it passes almost unnoticed. The laziness, shiftlessness and impudence of some members of the race are partly responsible for the reaction* but, above all, the assaults committed upon white women. And

* Even some of the old abolitionists were disappointed in their protégés. The late Thomas Wentworth Higginson once stated that the failure of the negroes to take full advantage of their opportunities was the greatest disappointment of his life.

yet the general public labors under a misapprehension regarding the prevalence of this crime, due to the fact that when a negro commits rape, an account, with all its fiendish details, is spread broadcast over the land by a sensational press whereas, when a white man is the criminal, even the local press often says little about the matter. Only about one-fifth of the negro lynchings are for "the usual crime," and the number of commitments for assault is, in proportion to population, three times greater among Italians than among negroes.* Furthermore, most white critics, in judging the negroes, fail to make sufficient allowance for the depths from which they rose and for the fact that fifty years is a short interval for the uplifting of a race. They are likely also to judge the white race by its best representatives and the black race by its worst—because most in evidence—forgetting or perhaps being totally unaware of the millions of decent, hard-working negro men and women who live self-respecting lives and never appear in the police court.

About twenty states permit mixed marriages, as

* The ratio of criminals furnished by the negroes is much beyond that of the white race. The number of negro criminals confined in penal institutions in 1904 was twenty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-one, that of white criminals fifty-five thousand one hundred and eleven, that is, the negro race furnished almost a third of the criminals although constituting only a little more than a tenth of the population. Allowance, however, must be made for the fact that negroes are much less likely to escape the consequences of a crime than is the case among the whites. The number of criminals per hundred thousand of population is also decreasing, being in the South two hundred and eighty-four in 1890 and only two hundred and twenty in 1904.

does also the District of Columbia, which is one of the main havens for miscegenating couples, but race prejudice on the part of the whites serves as an effective barrier against much legalized race intermixture. The idea which prevails in parts of the South that such alliances are common in the North is altogether erroneous. Some years ago Senator Money, of Mississippi, estimated the number of mixed marriages in Boston during 1902 at two thousand, but in reality the number of licenses issued was just twenty-nine. Even in places where the negro population is increasing the number of such marriages is diminishing.

Strangely enough, although illicit relations are decidedly more common between the male Caucasian and the female negro, when it comes to a matter of legalized union, the reverse is the rule. Out of two hundred and twenty-two mixed unions in Boston during the years 1900-1907 only nineteen were between white men and colored women. Most of the white women who marry negroes come from among the ranks of immigrants, and have not the same prejudices in the matter of color as have most native white Americans.

Unfortunately race prejudice does not prevent illicit unions, and it is in this manner that virtually all intermixture of blood occurs. It is a strange paradox of human nature that men who declaim most loudly against race equality will sometimes stoop to the most intimate relations with colored women pos-

sible between human beings. The most rabid advocates of the color line often become, therefore, the most dangerous enemies to the continued existence of that line. Any one at all conversant with conditions in the South knows the truth of this statement. "In one town I visited," says Ray Stannard Baker, who some years ago made a careful study of the race problem, "I heard a white man expressing with great bitterness his feeling against the negro race, arguing that the negro must be kept down, else it would lead to the mongrelization of the white race. The next morning, as chance would have it, another white man with whom I was walking pointed out to me a neat cottage, the home of the negro family of the white man who had talked with me on the previous evening. And I saw this man's colored children in the yard!"

According to the federal census the number of mulattoes is steadily increasing in proportion to the whole negro population. In 1850 they constituted 11.2 per cent. of the colored population; in 1860, 13.2 per cent.; in 1870, 12 per cent.; in 1890, 15.2 per cent.; and in 1910, 20.9 per cent. These figures are confessedly inaccurate, partly because the term "mulatto"* has not been used with entire uniformity

* In 1870 and 1910 it was applied to all persons not pure blacks who had a trace of negro blood in their veins, but the census of 1870 was notoriously unreliable as regards the negro population. In 1910 an exceptionally large number of negro enumerators were employed, and it has been discovered that they usually reported a larger proportion of mulattoes than did white enumerators in adjacent districts.

at different censuses; still there seems no room for doubt as to the general tendency. The increase is in part due, of course, to mulattoes intermarrying with pure blacks, but it is unquestionable that there is still considerable direct infusion of white blood into the race. It is altogether probable that in the course of a few generations the pure-blooded negro in America will be as extinct as the dodo and that this will result even should all sexual relations between the two races cease, simply because of the intermarriage of blacks with mulattoes. This will not mean, however, that the negro race will become white, merely that it will cease to be entirely African. The extent to which the race will be caucasianized depends on the continuance or discontinuance of white trespassers beyond the color line. Should such trespasses cease, the tendency known among anthropologists as "reversion to type" will tend to keep the negro decidedly Ethiopian in features and characteristics.

V

Public sentiment in the absence of legal regulations results in the negro attending separate churches and registering at separate hotels, confines him to special seats in the theaters, segregates him in cities and even in country places and tends to keep him apart from white people in all relations of life. It also helps to render decidedly more vigorous legal distinctions and discriminations against him as is well exempli-

fied in southern politics. A large proportion of negro men could qualify under the disfranchising laws, if it were not for the unequal application of the laws by white registration officers and for a white public sentiment against negro voting which few are bold enough to brave. "Do you vote?" I asked a Louisiana negro of means some years ago. "I done passed up politics long ago," he replied. "I got property enough to qualify, but it's *onhealthy*."

As a juror the negro is on an exact legal equality with white men, yet he is rarely drawn on southern juries, and this in spite of the fact that if it can be proved that a negro has been kept off a grand jury because of his race there is ground for quashing any indictment found against a colored person. The clerk of court in an Alabama county containing four times as many blacks as whites writes: "I have lived in this county for more than sixty-six years, and we have never had a negro juror in that time, nor do I ever expect to see one." The clerk of another county in the same state says that on one occasion a negro juror was drawn by mistake and insisted on serving. "My recollection is he served two days, when he was taken out at night and severely beaten, and was discharged on his own petition by the court." An Oklahoma judge actually discharged a whole jury on which four negroes had places, his reason being that he would not insult a white man by asking him to serve on a jury with a member of the despised race.

In states where separate schools are required by law race prejudice often results in unequal educational opportunities being accorded to the weaker race. In theory the laws provide for equal facilities, but in practice the reverse is often the case. Separate accounts of the cost of maintaining white and negro schools are not kept in most of the southern states, but enough information is available to show rather general discrimination against negro children. North Carolina and Louisiana, each containing more than 700,000 negroes, supported in 1910-1911 only one public high school for colored children; Arkansas had three, Virginia four, Alabama six, South Carolina nine, and Texas (to her honor) forty-two; the country as a whole, one hundred and fifty, with 9,641 secondary and 2,021 elementary pupils. Mississippi, with an enrolment of 24,000 more negro than white pupils in the public schools had 6,474 teachers for its white children and only 3,692 for its colored children, or an average of one teacher to every eighteen white pupils and of one teacher to every thirty-nine colored pupils. In Florida and South Carolina the ratio was almost as bad. In the South as a whole there was one teacher to every twenty-six white pupils and one teacher to every thirty-seven negro pupils. At a recent meeting of teachers in the negro schools complaint was made of inadequate salaries, lack of supervision, wide-spread neglect to provide proper equipment and the almost complete absence of public high schools and effective

normal schools for the training of teachers. Professor Charles H. Brough, of the University of Arkansas, who is thoroughly conversant with conditions, admits that the rural schools are "shamefully neglected," and Booker Washington estimates that although the negro constitutes about eleven per cent. of the population of the country his children receive the benefit of only about two per cent. of the school fund.

That conditions are improving, however, is shown by the fact that in the decade 1900-1910 the percentage of negro illiteracy declined from forty-four and one-half per cent. to thirty and two-fifths per cent. The truth undoubtedly is that as southern white education has progressed from its extremely backward state of twenty years ago, negro education has also advanced. The Southern Education Board, which has included a number of prominent southerners in its membership, has done wonders for both races; while the Slater fund and the Anna T. Jeanes fund have helped the forward movement in negro education. Professor Washington asserts that in the last five or six years there has been a great and favorable change, and he instances that five southern states have already appointed assistant superintendents to look after the colored schools, while in many counties negro supervisors, usually supported wholly or in part by the Jeanes fund, are helping to elevate the system.

Owing to the backwardness of public education, a large proportion of the colored youth attend private schools, supported partly by negro subscriptions,

partly by northern philanthropy, with some small aid from the South. This is particularly true of secondary and higher education. In 1910 there were 238 such secondary and higher schools, with 3,398 teachers, 40,945 elementary pupils, 23,834 secondary pupils, and 5,313 students taking collegiate or professional work. The property of 205 of these institutions was valued at \$17,000,000, and the income of 224 of them was \$2,579,714. In the North many negro students, of course, attend the ordinary high schools and colleges.*

The cause of negro education has been greatly retarded by southern prejudice. Such education is denounced as a "failure," and many southerners contend that it is "spoiling the younger generation." One would infer from their conversation that the country is overrun with negro college graduates unable to obtain a living, and many northerners, hearing such talk, have been misled by it. The simple truth is that there have been only about five thousand negro college graduates since 1823, and that negro institutions of learning are utterly unable to supply the demand for well-trained teachers in the schools. Education, of course, occasionally has a bad effect upon negro youths though probably not

* While a member of the staff at Teachers' College, Columbia University, the author himself had several such students under him. They were invariably above the average as students, and two were exceptionally brilliant. Most of them, however, were already graduates of other institutions, the two best coming from Tuskegee, and, of course, were not truly representative of the race.

oftener than upon white youths; and, let it be understood, the desire to exchange "soft shirt jobs" for "boiled shirt jobs" is not confined to either race. Negroes contend that what really troubles these southern opponents of negro education is that it is succeeding too well. The theory of such opponents is that the black man has a definite "place" as a servant and menial, and they condemn education for him because it inclines him "to depart from the established paths of recognized inferiority to the white race."

One form in which reactionary feeling against negro education has revealed itself is in the shape of agitation in favor of giving the negro educational facilities in proportion to the taxes he pays into the treasury, which would mean that he would receive little education at all. For, though any one who understands the manifold disadvantages and discouragements under which the blacks have labored will have to admit that they have done wonderfully well in the matter of acquiring property, it is undeniable that as yet they possess only a small portion of the wealth of the South and that consequently the sum they directly contribute in taxes is a small one—in some states not enough to pay the criminal expenses entailed by their race. But it would be just as reasonable to divide the white people of the country into two classes, the rich and the poor, and to give to the children of the poor—and the poor would include the great army of workmen—education in proportion

merely to the taxes paid into the treasury by that class. However small may be the sum the negro race directly contributes in taxes it is unquestionable that for generations that race has done the greater part of the work of the South and, as every student of political economy knows, the real incidence of taxation is far from being wholly on those who pay the money to the treasury. Through the shifting of the tax burden the black race undoubtedly contributes many times as much money as the tax list shows.

None of the proposals to divide the school fund in the manner described has ever succeeded, and it is incredible that such a thing ever should succeed, at least permanently. The great reason is the great and growing number of southern men of broad sympathies and faith and vision, men like Alderman, Dabney, Curry, Walter Page and George Foster Peabody, who realize the absolute truth of Booker Washington's declaration that you can not keep a man in a ditch without staying in the ditch with him.

Education is needed to ameliorate the race problem, and it must be education for both races. The simple truth is that there is a white problem linked with the negro problem and that both of them must be solved together. It is between the ignorant and depraved of both races that most of the friction occurs and that most miscegenation takes place and, just as was once the case with the Indians, a great many conflicts are the result of white encroachment on the weaker race. Even should negro education remain at a standstill

while educational conditions among the whites should improve one hundred per cent., it would do much toward bettering the situation.

Difference of opinion exists as to the kind of education most desirable; some would educate the negro industrially, others would emphasize the more classical method. It is a foolish discussion, for the negro race, just as the white race, needs all kinds of education. They need to learn how to become more effective economically in order that they may have better farms, better homes, better ways of making a living; they also need the broader education of mind and spirit in order that they may develop leaders. Man can not live on bread alone, and neither is a knowledge of Latin and philosophy always substantial in the way of commissariat.

Race prejudice frequently prevents colored men from obtaining justice, and causes white men to wink at and condone flagrant impositions on him. The practice of peonage was broken up only by federal courts, and in more than one southern state the laws regarding contracts and leases are so drawn that the negro is virtually at the mercy of unscrupulous white men. It is true that his behavior often gives some excuse for the passage of such laws, but this does not justify the white race in taking advantage of him. "Pluck-me stores," false accounts, high interest charges and other devices skilfully calculated to leave the negro a little poorer at the end of the year than he was at the beginning are all too common, and

planters not infrequently make industrious renters or croppers or field-hands indirectly pay for what is lost through the lazy and shiftless. More than one white man in Louisiana and Mississippi has told me: "The first thing I do is to get a nigger in debt to me. Then I have him." One hears a great deal about the negro's dishonesty and untrustworthiness, but his possession of these qualities is perhaps in a measure reaction from the tendency on the part of the whites to take advantage of him, just as his own lack of character has tended to demoralize the least honorable of the whites. If the white man cheats the colored man, the colored man will naturally try to get even. There are, of course, hundreds of thousands of just white business men in the South who deal rightly with the colored people—the great majority are so—and yet public sentiment in favor of such square dealing is often woefully lacking. If such sentiment could be developed, if the negro could be made to feel that he is getting justice, it is certain that in course of time it would have its effect on him.

Taking the South as a whole, race relations are undoubtedly slowly improving; and yet it is the simple truth that the condition of the peon class in "Barbarous Mexico" is hardly worse than that of many negroes in certain sections of certain southern states, while the persecution of Russian Jews by Russian Cossacks is rivaled by deeds done in brutal race riots. While we continue to burn men at the stake, sometimes on the mere suspicion of crime, and to beat

to death wholly innocent black people in sudden up-flarings of race hatred, it ill becomes us to protest against deeds done on the steppes of Russia or on the rubber plantations of Mexico.*

Negroes are largely at the mercy of the more numerous race because as yet they are comparatively poor and few are their own industrial masters. Every additional acre of land and every additional dollar invested in reputable business means one step more toward a wider freedom and a more honorable position. Booker Washington is right in advising his people that before they insist too strongly on recognition they should get something to be recognized, in a material, a mental and a spiritual sense.

To accomplish this will be a work of years, and it is not improbable that in the meantime some race distinctions which are as yet only customs may be enacted into law. The tendency seems in that direction, and even in the North many people are coming to believe that perhaps in some cases and places where race friction is decidedly strong conditions would be improved by a formal recognition of race distinctions. But anything in the nature of race discrimination either in law or practice should be blotted out. If separate railroad cars are provided for the two races, those for the negro should be as comfortable and sanitary as those for the whites, provided the fare is the same. If the negroes are given separate

* Happily the number of lynchings in 1913 was hardly a fifth as large as in some years a decade or so ago.

schools those schools should be as well taught and as well conducted as those for the whites. Says a southern writer:*

“The welfare of both races—and this conclusion applies equally to the other non-Caucasian races—requires the recognition of race distinctions and the obliteration of race discriminations. The races should be separated wherever race friction might result from their enforced association. The white race can not attain its highest development when continually venting its spite upon the less fortunate race. Nor, indeed, can the Negro race reach its highest development when continually subjected to the oppressions of the more fortunate race.”

VI

The outlook of the American negro appears optimistic or pessimistic according to the angle from which the subject is regarded. Disciples of the “Niagara movement,” such as Professor W. E. B. Dubois, who insist upon absolute racial equality, contemplate the many race discriminations under which their people labor and feel very much discouraged and depressed over what is undoubtedly one of the saddest and most tragic aspects of American life. Disciples of the Booker Washington school, men who “renounce the impossible and co-operate with the inevitable,” view the material, mental and moral progress of half a

* G. T. Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law*, page 361. I have drawn heavily on this book for facts regarding the legal status of the negro.

century, and are more cheerful. They point out that when emancipation came practically all negroes were illiterate and that in some states it was more of a crime to teach them to read or write than it was to put out their eyes. Now only thirty and two-fifths per cent. of the negroes of ten years and over are illiterate, and the race publishes over two hundred newspapers and magazines. Fifty years ago scarcely more heed to family life was paid among slaves than among the beasts of the field. Now a great proportion of the race obey the laws of the marriage relation and lead self-respecting lives. The freedman was a pauper "turned loose, naked, hungry, and destitute to the open sky." Now he and his descendants own property worth \$750,000,000, including 220,000 farms; produce farm products to the value of \$500,000,000 annually, and earn in other ways \$200,000,000 more.

Various plans have been propounded for solving the negro problem, as if it were a sum in mathematics. Some people would transport all of the race back to Africa, but the physical task of moving ten million people across the seas and establishing them in another home, to say nothing of the injustice of such a course, is an insuperable obstacle in the way of such a solution. Others would segregate the race in two or three states, but no state is likely to consent to be used for such a purpose. For that matter, the southern white people themselves would probably never be willing to lose the services of their laborers

and cooks.* In fact certain southern states have laws making it a penitentiary offense to endeavor to entice laborers out of their boundaries. Amalgamation is fully as unlikely a solution, for intermarriage is becoming less common, and illicit intermixture, at the present rate, would not in centuries erase the color line. The theory has frequently been propounded that in time the law of the "survival of the fittest" will entirely eliminate the negro, and the theory is thus summarized by a southern historian:

"The vaster the growth of the Southern states in wealth and white population, the sharper and more urgent will be the struggle of the black man for existence. . . . The day will come in the South, just as it came long ago in the North, when for lack of skill, lack of sobriety and lack of persistency the negro will find it more difficult to stand up as a rival of the white working man. Already it is the ultimate fate of the negro that is in the balance, not the ultimate fate of the Southern states in consequence of the presence of the negro. The darkest day for the Southern whites has just passed. . . . The darkest day for the Southern black has only just begun; for in this age of the world no race can in the long run hold its own in a civilized land unless it has all the moral qualities necessary to meet successfully the trying conditions of life prevailing in a highly organized modern community."†

* There are, of course, a few southern communities which will not tolerate negro residents at all. In a Tennessee community there is (or was at least recently) a sign: "Nigger, stop, look, read. Don't let the sun set on you!"

† Philip A. Bruce, *The Rise of the New South*, page 469.

It is true that the negro death-rate is higher than the white death-rate,* that pneumonia, tuberculosis and venereal diseases are alarmingly prevalent among them, that they are being forced out of many occupations, that their rate of increase is only about half that of the whites,† that the proportion of the negro population to the whole population is only ten and seven-tenths per cent. as compared with nineteen and three-tenths per cent. in 1790. The fact remains that the race increased 993,769 during 1900-1910, and now amounts to about 10,000,000 souls.‡ When the negro population becomes stationary or begins to decline, it will be early enough to talk of their ultimate extinction. Possibly in the time which is eternity the race may die out or become thoroughly amalgamated with the Caucasians, but for all practical purposes we may consider it settled that the negro is with us permanently and act accordingly. That he will constitute a large part of the population of the United States a century hence can

* In New Orleans in 1910 the white death-rate per 1,000 was 21.3, of the negroes 32.7; in Richmond, Virginia, whites 22.6, negroes 30.3; in Kansas City, whites 15.7, negroes 25.7; in Washington, D. C., whites 18.9, negroes 22.9. The extremes are probably less among the rural population. The high death-rate among negroes in cities is partly due to the unsanitary quarters into which they are crowded.

† Eleven and two-tenths per cent. during 1900-1910, as against 22.3 for whites, but a large part of the white increase was due to immigration.

‡ The rate of increase for 1900-1910 was only 11.2 per cent. as against eighteen per cent. for 1890-1900, but the decrease is in part attributable to defects in earlier censuses. No doubt it was also partly due to "race suicide," which affected the colored population somewhat as it did the white population.

be prophesied with much greater confidence than that the Republic will be in existence at that date.

James Bryce's conclusions regarding the future of the negro in America are borne out by the results of the last census. They are that the negro will remain here, that he will stay locally intermixed with the white population, that he will stay socially distinct, unabsorbed and unabsorbable, but that he will be relatively a smaller element in the population north of latitude thirty-six, and that his chief future will be in "the lower and hotter regions along the coasts of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico"—regions better suited to his physical make-up. The census shows that the rate of increase in northern states was only eighteen per cent. for 1900-1910 as against twenty-five per cent. for 1890-1900, most of the increase being due to movement from the South, as a result of which the negro population in certain border states actually declined. The tendency toward concentration in "black belts" still continues, but the fear that some southern states will in time be inhabited entirely by negroes seems groundless. During 1900-1910 the white population of Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana—the four states containing the largest proportion of blacks—has increased more rapidly than the colored population, while the reverse was true in only Arkansas, Oklahoma and West Virginia. It seems safe to conclude that the relative importance of the negro population will decline south of latitude thirty-six

as well as north of it. In the North the negro shows an abnormal disposition to concentrate in towns, and in New England the urban negro population is ninety-one and four-fifths per cent. of the whole. In the South the negro is not moving into town quite so rapidly as are his white neighbors. His most sensible leaders advise him to stick to the soil and avoid the more strenuous competition of cities and the unsanitary quarters into which he is usually crowded.

Eighty-nine per cent. of the colored race are concentrated in the southern states, and the negro is, therefore, in a sense "the southerner's problem." Yet the northerner is interested in the problem too, for what concerns one section of the country is of interest to the rest of the country, just as cancer of the stomach or tuberculosis of the throat vitally concerns the welfare of the rest of the body. Both sections, therefore, should earnestly labor to raise the negro in the scale of humanity, and should frown on such foolish and unchristian laws as that recently enacted in Florida against educational work—missionary work really—among negroes by white teachers. It may be that the negro is less capable of improvement than his white neighbor, that often he has not the basis for "the white man's culture, the flower of centuries," but it is unquestionable that he possesses vast possibilities for development. Why not develop them? A large proportion of white children lack the intellectual gifts enjoyed by some other children, but we do not on that

account declare that it is useless to educate them. The sooner the negro's mental and moral capacities are brought into full activity the better it will be for the whole nation and particularly for the South.*

Viewed from any angle, the task is a stupendous one. Little wonder that a southern educator who has read this chapter asks: "How shall we take these ten millions of shiftless, improvident, unmoral, inefficient child-men of an alien race and convert them into desirable citizens? With individual exceptions, the negro population rests like a great black blight upon the industrial and social life of the South. It can not be removed, and the only chance is to train the race to do intelligent honest work—to be economically efficient. Booker Washington has pointed the way, the one best both for the negro and for the whites, but it is a big undertaking—one that makes every other social problem of our people seem simple."

* One of the most encouraging developments of recent years is the interest being taken in the South in the work of the University Commission on the Southern Race Problem.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE

I

A CENTURY and a half ago a new economic movement began which in its ultimate effects on the daily lives, habits and thoughts of men was to prove vastly more important than any political revolution of which there exists a record. By the invention of labor-saving machinery, such as the spinning-jenny, the power loom and the steam-engine, man freed himself from the limitations of his own puny strength and harnessed Nature to work for him.*

As a result of this Industrial Revolution, of which too little is said in our school histories, the quantity of goods that can be created for human use and enjoyment has been vastly increased. A few men operating the cotton-gin can clean as much cotton as a thousand using the old hand method; a few hundred men or women with improved machinery can weave more cotton cloth than the whole of the old cotton-weaving world put together; and in innumerable industries man's efficiency has been multiplied a hun-

* See the author's *Reconstruction and Union*, page 172.

dredfold or a thousandfold. Furthermore, the introduction of the steamboat, railways and electricity has enabled him to levy on the ends of the earth for his raw materials and to send the finished products where he will.

From some other points of view the results have not been so roseate. A comparatively few people have managed to reap an altogether undue share of the rich harvest. The standard of living has undoubtedly been greatly raised for most classes, but the uplift has been far from equal all along the line. In addition, the new system has brought with it some troublesome changes in the organization of industry and of society itself. Great factories and factory cities, child labor, trusts and combines, are all results of the revolution. Industries are no longer conducted in the same simple way as in the past. Under the old guild system John Treat, the apprentice to Abner Dikeham, the weaver of woolens, worked in his employer's little establishment alongside Dikeham himself, three or four other apprentices and perhaps as many journeymen. His personal relations with his employer were close, and if Old Dikeham happened to have a pretty daughter Faith who suited John's fancy, the apprentice might dare to hope that he could win her. At all events he became a journeyman when he grew up, and in due time, if he proved a man of energy with business ability, became a master weaver himself with his own establishment, apprentices, journeymen and pretty daughter. The guild

system, to be sure, had broken down in many trades before the Industrial Revolution began, but in most industries, however organized, the relations between employee and employer were still likely to be fairly close and the passage from one class to the other was comparatively easy.

The Industrial Revolution changed all that. Work came to be done in great factories, and the cost of machinery, tools and buildings mounted so high that the transition from worker to employer became more difficult. In the old days the cost of the looms and other equipment for woolen weaving did not exceed the amount of a few months of a journeyman's wages; now the cost of such plants exceeds the total wages of many men for a whole lifetime. John Treat, the American descendant of medieval John and Faith, if he begins as a laborer, has to reconcile himself to the probability that he will always remain a laborer. "Born an employee, die an employee" has become the general rule in a great number of industries. Occasionally, to be sure, a workman does make the passage to the employer class, but where one succeeds a thousand fail. Realizing this fact, the workers have acquired a class consciousness that did not exist before, and in many places and many industries they have organized themselves into unions to protect their interests.

Furthermore, the employer himself has undergone a great transformation. Instead of one man owning a mill or factory, it came to be common for partner-

ships to be formed, and the system of partnership in turn often gave way before another idea. In the evolution of industrial society there developed a system of combination called a corporation having the activities of individual employers and infinitely greater power but without an individual's responsibilities. Corporations expanded or united until sometimes one would control not merely one factory or group of factories but practically a whole industry, with power to fix prices, to ruin competitors and to dictate to the workmen in the industry. Employers in different industries also organized to advance and protect their interests and more especially to enable them to resist the demands of their workers.

The gulf between worker and employer in industrial pursuits has thus become complete. In the old days both belonged to the craft guild and viewed matters either as workers or former workers, or as employers or prospective employers. To-day each has his organization—to fight the other. It is a rare thing for the modern John Treat to labor alongside his employer, much less to woo and wed his daughter. If the employer is a corporation, the employer has no daughter. Even if he be an individual he is often a man of vast interests which he commits to the care of others, so that John Treat may not in his whole lifetime so much as set eyes upon him. Under such conditions there can be little community of interest or understanding. Instead there is lack of sympathy and often downright hostility.

II

The evolution above described was in the main a natural one, but it created some tremendous problems. No well-informed man would care to go back to the old handicraft period and dispense with the labor-saving devices which brought about the revolution. "The good old days," when carefully examined in the light of history, usually prove not so golden as they appear through the mellowing mists of years; in this, as in many other things, it is distance that lends enchantment. The average worker now is undoubtedly better off in most ways than the average worker in the past. If the American worker of the era of the Stamp Act could step into the cottage of a thrifty fellow craftsman of to-day, he would marvel at the well-plastered walls, the clear glass windows, the smooth floors with their gay rugs, the steam heat, the chairs and divans and bookcase full of books, the pictures on the walls, and would deplore the contrast afforded by his own one or two room cabin with its rough walls, puncheon floor, oiled paper window, fireplace, crude table and stools, and sundry hams, bags of seed and strings of red peppers and "yarbs" hanging from the ceiling. His eyes would next fall on the neat Sunday suit of smooth cloth worn by his friend and on the well-trimmed hat and well-fitted silk dress of the housewife, and he would feel ashamed of his own rough homespun clothes and of his wife's linsey-woolsey gown which she had spun with her own hands.

In case he stayed to dinner he would probably experience the greatest wonder of all. Homely hog and hominy, with corn-bread and a few vegetables, made up his fare at home, all home-grown products, even to the sassafras or spicewood tea; but here he would partake of bread made of wheat from the far Northwest, coffee from Brazil or tea from Ceylon, strange fruits from the tropics and other viands coming he would know not whence and to be eaten he would know not how.

The simple truth is that the average worker to-day has a greater variety to eat, better clothes to wear and more time for amusement and culture than he had a century and a half ago. Many of his necessities were the luxuries of the rich in time past. Yet he is not satisfied, far from it. He wants to reap still further benefits from the revolution which has bettered his condition. He believes that he has not received a fair share of those benefits. He feels that with all his advantages over his ancestors he has nevertheless lost independence and some other desirable things which they possessed. And herein lies the essence of the stupendous conflict between labor and capital.

Yet even to-day the interests of employers and employees are not all divergent. It is to the interest of both to have cheap and large production, in order that the business in which both are engaged shall be prosperous, for obviously in an unprofitable business wages must be low and the employer will receive no

return on his investment. Ultimately the business will fail and the employer will lose his investment and the employee his job.

But let us suppose that the business is profitable; that after all expenses are paid a surplus remains. What is to become of this surplus? Here common interest ends and conflict begins. The employer says, "The surplus is mine. It is *my* profit on *my* business." And hitherto his claim has usually been allowed. But the employee is saying, each year with increasing emphasis: "Not so. I, too, have an interest in the business. A share of the surplus should go to me in the form of higher wages."

The employer retorts: "I built up this business. I found the money to conduct it. I buy my raw material in the cheapest market, and I mean to get my labor in the same way." The employee replies: "Capital is useless without labor. In fact, labor is our capital, and it has fully as God-given a right to be rewarded as your inert dollars." And thus the conflict.

Both sides are partly organized. The workers were first in the field, and now have their independent brotherhoods and unions, and the mighty Federation of Labor with its two million members, its thousands of local unions and its hundreds of publications. The employers also have learned the desirability of combination, and have their National Association of Manufacturers and numerous similar organizations. And on both sides the prime purpose is war. The

Popes, Kirbys and Parrys marshal the hosts of capital; the Gomperses, Mitchells and Haywoods, those of labor; and each side has its Mulhalls or its McNamaras.

The workers want high wages and short hours—"eight hours to-day and fewer to-morrow," avows President Gompers—safe and healthful working conditions and, if organized, they want the "closed shop." The employers want to be free to "hire and fire" as they will, to regulate wages and hours as they see fit and they generally prefer the "open shop." The unions would like to organize labor in every occupation and trade, and the employers would be glad to extirpate the unions root and branch.

The weapons on the one side are the strike, the boycott and the union label; on the other, the lockout, the blacklist and the strike-breaking "scab." Extremists on the one side occasionally resort to destruction of property, to the use of dynamite and to the murder of "scabs"; those on the other corrupt courts and legislatures and starve women and little children. Neither can claim a monopoly on wrongdoing.

Perhaps it is just as well that both are organized, for, as conditions now exist, a balance between the opposing forces seems desirable. Human nature is about the same whether under jeans or broadcloth, and should either employees or employers acquire too much power they would misuse that power. The country is full of instances illustrating this tendency.

On the side of the employers a good illustration,

and by no means an extreme one, is afforded by the United States Steel Corporation. About a decade ago this company succeeded in driving out the last relic of unionism in its mills, and though the American Federation each year conducts a campaign to reorganize the men, the power of the company is such that it is able to frustrate all such efforts. The men are aware that their actions are watched, and they are also aware that the corporation controls so large a part of the steel industry that in case they should be dismissed there would be little chance of their obtaining employment elsewhere in their chosen occupation. Furthermore, the work of organization is rendered still harder by the fact that in nearly all the large steel plants the English-speaking race is being supplanted by the Syrian, Pole, Bohemian, Croatian, Hungarian, Slav and members of other races, and this is especially true among the unskilled workers, who number about sixty per cent. of the whole.*

Now the Steel Corporation does much to temper its despotic authority. It has developed a restricted scheme of stock ownership, has done much to prevent accidents and to provide compensation in cases where accidents occur, and in some cases it has built good houses which it rents to employees at lower rates than the ordinary landlord charges. And yet in its regulation of these things the Corporation has craftily inserted stipulations designed to diminish the em-

* *Report of the American Federation of Labor for 1912, page 385.*

ployee's independence and to make him more and more subservient to his master. Furthermore, its control over wages is absolute, and statistics show that, in a period of great prosperity in the industry and of increasing cost of living, it lowered wages. But perhaps the chief count against it is that it demands too much of human energy. The steel industry is one which is very wearing on its workers even under the most favorable conditions. The terrific noise, the terrible heat from tens of tons of molten metal, the ever-lurking danger, would suffice to make the task trying even with short hours. But the hours are long—very long. The company until recently required about sixty per cent. of its men to labor seventy-two hours during six days in one week, and ninety-six hours during seven days of the next week, averaging a continuous twelve-hour day throughout the year with the exception of two or three national holidays. A carefully conducted investigation made in 1907 of conditions in the county in which Pittsburgh stands showed that out of seventeen thousand steel employees only one hundred and twenty worked an eight-hour day, though in Europe an eight-hour day in the steel industry is practically universal. In 1912 pressure of public opinion forced the Corporation to eliminate seven-day labor, but it still retains the twelve-hour day. A policy of "speeding up" has been developed which keeps the men always at high tension and exacts more of their energy than they ought to give. The rush and the strain of long hours are no doubt responsible for

some of the horrible accidents that from time to time take place in the mills. But this is really not the worst. The workers in such an industry have little time for culture or enjoyment. They have no home life, for they "live in the mills." They are machines—to be worked until worn out before their time, and then "scrapped" as remorselessly as if they were mere metal instead of flesh and blood, with human hopes and fears and aspirations. And yet in 1912 the Steel Corporation paid dividends of \$25,400,000 on its common stock, which, as everybody knows, was a decade ago pure "water."

Such is a picture—and by no means the blackest—of the effects of unrestricted capital. Would a condition in which labor was equally powerful result much better? The author is a friend to labor, both organized and otherwise; but he confesses that he fears that the complete domination of industry by unions, with the closed shop the rule throughout every trade, would be about as disastrous as the complete domination of industry by capital. We can hardly accept as final a principle which would exclude from the right to earn a living all persons who do not belong to an organization with no authority based on legal enactment. The closed-shop idea is, in fact, probably a mere temporary expedient evolved in the stress of bitter conflict but hardly destined to be accepted as the ultimate solution of that conflict.

Many instances exist of short-sighted and oppress-

ive rules and policies on the part of the unions, but one or two must suffice. Cases now and then occur where the construction of a great building is held up for weeks or months because, perhaps inadvertently, the contractor has obtained some material produced by non-union workers or perhaps merely handled by such workers in transit. Even when the contractors take all possible pains to comply with union rules they may suffer heavy loss or even ruin as a results of quarrels between the various trades themselves. The climax of absurdity has perhaps been reached in the printing business. Let us suppose that in a certain New Jersey weekly newspaper plant with which I was not long since familiar an advertising agent sends a "matrix," from which in a few minutes the stereotypers can make a metal block from which the advertisement can be printed. The workmen in this closed shop will permit it to be done only on the condition that subsequently, at some time within a week, they shall set the advertisement up by hand, take a proof, and then distribute the type again in the cases, charging, of course, full rates for all this foolish and totally wasted work.

III

The simple truth is that neither labor nor capital can be allowed to reign unchecked. There is a third interested party, the great general public, whose interests in the last analysis must be paramount. It

is certain that ultimately this party will find a way to hold both labor and capital in check and to safeguard the interests of all. Just how this is to be done only time will reveal, but already solutions are being found for some of the evils resulting from the warfare between the contending forces.

Take, for example, the strike evil. In the period 1881-1905 there occurred thirty-six thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven strikes and one thousand five hundred and forty-six lockouts, involving almost two hundred thousand establishments and over nine million and a half employees. The total direct and indirect loss to employers, employees and general public can only be guessed at but it has undoubtedly amounted to more than the cost of any war ever waged. Many of these strikes were peaceable in character, but hardly a month passes in which, in some section of the country, destruction of property, the beating of "scabs," conflicts between rioters and police or militia, secret assassinations, dynamiting, bomb throwing, do not combine to produce a condition which, if reported from South America, would be called a "revolution." Even when we were seizing a Mexican port there existed in one section of our own country a condition such that it was difficult to determine where the state of warfare was more pronounced—Vera Cruz or Colorado. Is such a recurring condition of violence, with its accompaniments of economic loss, murder, starvation of women and little children, to be allowed to continue forever?

A proposed panacea or at least palliative for this evil is industrial arbitration. Space will not permit an extended account of the experience of other countries with this device, but a few words must be devoted to the subject. New Zealand has profited by it for twenty years and has approached the beatific condition of "a land without strikes." The system has not satisfied everybody, but it is significant that the law still remains on the statute books and that the plan has been adopted in other Australasian states and elsewhere in the world. Our own near neighbor, Canada, began to experiment with arbitration in 1900. The present act grew out of a great coal strike in the Canadian Northwest which attained such dimensions as to threaten the death by freezing from want of fuel of the inhabitants of that frigid region and aroused throughout the Dominion a feeling that "private rights should cease when they become public wrongs." Under the provisions of the law which resulted, before a strike or lockout can take place the aggrieved party must give thirty days' notice, and an investigation is made by a board on which both employer and employees are represented. This board then brings in a report setting forth its views of the dispute and suggesting a plan of settlement. Neither party is bound to accept, but in practice both usually do so. In the five years up to September, 1912, one hundred and thirty-two applications were made under the act, and strikes were averted in all but fifteen cases.

The federal government in the United States began to experiment with arbitration as early as 1887, and in 1898 passed the well-known Erdman Act. This act remained practically a dead letter for several years, but ultimately recourse was had to it; and in the five years preceding 1913 it was invoked in forty-eight cases involving 500,000 miles of railway and 160,000 employees. The act has been twice amended, once in 1911 and again in the summer of 1913, in the latter instance in order to meet the exigencies of a threatened railway strike that would have involved about 90,000 employees. The law now provides for a federal board of conciliation and arbitration, to the head of which President Wilson appointed William Lea Chambers, formerly chief justice of the International Court of Samoa and for some time a member of the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission. In case of an interstate railway dispute either party can call on the board or the board may act on its own initiative. When the board can not effect a settlement and the parties decide on arbitration, an arbitration board of three or six members is selected. In the latter case each interested party chooses two members, and these select the remaining two. In case the four are unable to agree on members, the board of conciliation does the selecting. Arbitration is not obligatory, but the system offers a possible way out.

About two-thirds of the states have enacted legislation providing for conciliation and arbitration, but

many of the laws are defective and some are dead letters. Though state boards of conciliation and arbitration and other bodies created by such statutes, or vested with power by them, have performed some creditable work, they have proved far from adequate. The best work of permanent state boards has been done in New York and Massachusetts.

Neither organized capital nor organized labor has shown itself very friendly to any state agency for industrial arbitration and conciliation, and both are decidedly hostile to compulsory arbitration by state agency. At its 1912 meeting the American Federation of Labor iterated its already announced opposition "to the introduction of any form of compulsory arbitration whether the power to enforce the award of the arbitrators is specifically provided in the law, or through the means of an organized and directed public opinion. We welcome arbitration as a means of industrial peace when the parties to the proposed arbitration are given the opportunity of establishing a proper basis upon which the arbitration shall proceed before it is entered into."

What shall this "proper basis" be and how shall it be determined? Obviously here lies the crux of the whole arbitration question.

Let us suppose that arbitrators are called on to decide in a case where certain coal miners are asking for higher wages. Some one may say that the miners should be given the award if they are not receiving a "living wage." But what constitutes a

"living wage"? Is it barely enough to keep body and soul together or does it include a few of the comforts or even of the luxuries of life?

In New Zealand the arbitration court first endeavors to ascertain what wage would enable the average worker with a wife and children to live in reasonable comfort and respectability. It then seeks to find out how much the profits of the employer would enable him to pay. Having ascertained these things, it then proceeds to give judgment; but no court has yet laid down any general rule for so doing, and hence the task has been indefinite and the decisions often are criticized. Possibly in time the ultimate rule will be that capital will be allotted an interest reward and that the rest of the surplus will be given to the workers. A similar rule is gradually coming into recognition with regard to public service corporations—that the charge levied by such a corporation shall be just high enough to pay operating expenses and a six per cent. dividend on the investment.

IV

The sensational Industrial Workers of the World, who have been much in evidence lately, declare that capital shall have no reward whatsoever, that labor is entitled to all the fruits of industry. This body is an offshoot of the Syndicalist movement in Europe. It was formally organized in Chicago in 1905, and subsequently split into two factions, the more radical

having headquarters in the city just named and the more conservative in Detroit. Among its leaders are "Big Bill" Haywood, long prominent as a violent member of the Western Federation of Miners, and accused of complicity in the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho; Vincent St. John, Joseph Ettor and Elizabeth Gurley Flinn.

The platform of the Industrial Workers has been defined as "a species of imported anarchy plus a subversion of the most perverted doctrines of Socialism." Its advocates declare that employers and employees have nothing in common and that warfare between them will grow more bitter until revolution is reached. They demand complete ownership and control of all industries by the workers themselves, and design to secure this by making all industries so profitless that the present owners will be forced to relinquish them. They oppose conciliation, peace, adjustment and reforms as mere palliatives designed to postpone the final triumph of the workers. They seek to intensify the class struggle in order to precipitate the day of deliverance which, they believe, will come in the form of a general strike of all workers that will compel the capitalists to surrender. Contending that existing laws were made by and for the capitalist class they do not hesitate to break them, for they affect to believe that thereby they advance the interests of the workers and save them from destruction and death.

The favorite weapons of the Industrialists are the

"irritation strikes" and what is known as "sabotage." The Industrialists encourage workmen to strike at all times in order to intensify the class struggle and embarrass the employer. They deny the validity of labor contracts, for they contend that such contracts are forced from the worker's bitter need and hence are no more binding morally than if obtained at the point of a pistol. Sabotage is the organized hampering of industry by withdrawal of efficiency or by secret interference with machines, tools or product. The origin of the term is variously explained, one explanation being that in 1834 striking weavers at Lyons used their wooden shoes (*sabots*) to smash machinery and factory windows and thereby gave a name to such procedure. The method takes a great variety of forms, such as systematic "killing of time" or "soldiering," misdirecting packages, misrouting cars, wrongly mixing chemicals, secretly scratching furniture and putting emery powder in the bearings of machinery. The Industrialists openly admit that in any case the end justifies the means, and declare that an act is neither "right" nor "wrong," it is only expedient or inexpedient. In a speech before striking waiters in New York in 1913, Joseph Ettor advised that in case the waiters were forced to go back to work under unsatisfactory conditions they should do so with "minds made up that it will be the unsafest proposition in the world for any capitalist to eat food prepared by members of your union." Less murderous agitators, instead of putting poison,

ground glass, fulminating caps or tacks in food, would content themselves with inserting kerosene or castor oil.

It has been estimated that the I. W. W. have already cost the American people fully \$40,000,000. They have played an active part in numerous violent strikes, particularly those at McKee's Rocks, Lawrence, Paterson and Akron. In many places, and especially in the West, they have been roughly handled, which is not strange, considering the doctrines they preach. From some towns they have been expelled by vigilance committees, and in others they have been refused the right to speak in the streets.

Unless the world is to return to chaos, it is probable that the career of the Industrialists will be short-lived. Their success up to the present time, if success it may be called, has been due to their ability to play on the passions of ignorant workmen, largely foreigners, who believed themselves aggrieved. They have managed occasionally to obtain sympathy and financial support from persons of another class, and in some instances have collected considerable sums of money, part of which, at least in the case of the Lawrence strike, never reached the persons whose sufferings it was ostensibly collected to relieve. In fact, like the dynamite outrages perpetrated by the McNamaras and their aids and abettors, the I. W. W. movement is chiefly significant as being symptomatic of a deep feeling of discontent revealing itself in sporadic lawlessness.

It is not by destroying each other that labor and capital can best serve their own interests and those of their common country but by getting together, and every reform that tends to promote better relations should be welcomed by both parties and by the general public.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR WORKERS

I

A REFORM that would go far toward establishing industrial peace is the adoption of juster methods of recompense for industrial accidents. Complete statistics of the number of American workmen annually killed or injured have never been compiled; but such facts are known as that for the year ending June 30, 1912, on railroads alone 3,635 employees were killed and 142,442 were injured; that in the state of New York for the year ending June 30, 1909, there were 15,437 such accidents, of which two hundred and fifty-eight resulted fatally; that in coal mines in 1907 one miner lost his life out of every two hundred and seventy-eight employed;* and that in a few years the total number of accidents the country over would far exceed "the aggregate of dead and wounded in any modern war." If we add to such casualties the instances of death and sickness resulting from occupational disease the total would be large enough to stagger humanity.

* The death-rate from accident in coal mines in 1912 was 3.27 per thousand; in 1913, 3.82 per thousand.

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The pity of it is that a large part of this human waste is preventable. Statistics show that the number of industrial accidents is decidedly larger in the United States than in some foreign countries. In coal mining, for example, an employee's chance of fatal injury in five of the chief mining states of Europe was only one out of seven hundred and twenty-four as compared with the figures just quoted for the United States—one out of two hundred and seventy-eight. Three times as many railway employees proportionately are killed annually in the United States as in Great Britain, and somewhat similar ratios apply in some other occupations.

The fact is that industry is not yet so carefully regulated by law in this country as in Europe, and more latitude is allowed in the matter of providing safety appliances, with the result that some employers are selfishly and criminally indifferent. Of late years much has been done by the federal government and state governments to regulate such matters, but it is a sad commentary on human nature that each law has encountered the bitter opposition of a class of employers who affect to believe that if they do not care to cut dividends in order to provide means of safeguarding the lives of fellow human beings it is nobody's business but their own. In justice to employers it should be added that many accidents are due to a most astonishing carelessness and foolhardiness among employees themselves and that some will take needless chances with Death, with the result that

frequently Death seizes them in his clutches. A mutual casualty insurance company serving many of the millers of the country has collected statistics which go to show that only seven per cent. of the accidents occurring in that industry are absolutely non-preventable, and many cases are on record in which the adoption of safety appliances accompanied by an educational campaign have accomplished wonders in decreasing the loss of life and limb.

Unfortunately, however, though laws be never so strict and employers and employees never so careful, the danger of industrial accident can not be entirely eliminated. The mining of so many hundred thousand tons of coal, the production of so many thousand tons of steel, the transportation of so many passengers will cost the life of a workman besides numerous injuries to others.

Now a workman's ability to labor constitutes his capital, and when he loses this he loses all. It is of vital importance to him and to those dear to and dependent on him that this ability should be safeguarded as far as possible against disease and accident and that, in case dire disaster does befall, he or his heirs should be properly recompensed.

The old method was the employer's liability under the common law, but the responsibility of the employer has been so hedged about by the doctrines of "assumed risk" and "contributory negligence" on the part of fellow servants, the processes of the law are so slow and expensive and the attitude of judges

has been so generally favorable to employers that, despite modifications in the common law in many states, the recovery of damages is often extremely doubtful. Even when a judgment is secured a large part of it, perhaps a half, goes to the plaintiff's attorneys and only a pittance is left to relieve the bitter need. A table of twelve typical cases taken from the 1908 report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society showed that the net damages recovered averaged only about one hundred and forty dollars, with two cases still pending. These cases involved five deaths, a fractured skull in a sixth case, insanity in another, a shortened leg in another and serious injuries in all the rest. Of five hundred and twenty-six deaths resulting from industrial accidents in a given period in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, one hundred were wholly uncompensated, and the heirs of only sixty-one received more than five hundred dollars. Little wonder that Elihu Root, in a speech before the American Bar Association, characterized the present system as "foolish, wasteful, ineffective, and barbarous."

In order to safeguard themselves and their dependents, many workmen have insured themselves in life or casualty companies or have joined relief or fraternal organizations. Some of the trade unions, such as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Order of Railway Conductors, have engaged in such insurance to the great benefit of their membership. Certain great employers of labor, such as the Inter-

national Harvester Company and the United States Steel Corporation, have voluntarily provided forms of relief for their injured employees. These various agencies have accomplished much good, yet experience shows that they are inadequate, that every year thousands of workmen unconnected with any of them meet death or serious disability with resultant disaster to their dependents.

The risks to which employers are liable, in the way of damages and costs of litigation, have resulted in the development of numerous liability companies which insure employers against all expenses resulting from accidents. In effect the company becomes the defendant in a given case, and no settlement can be made without its consent. Of course every effort is made by the company to keep the damages at as low a figure as possible, and the methods employed would often disgrace a savage. Adjusters for such companies take advantage of the sorrow of the bereaved and of their bitter need, and by crafty threats and cajolery often manage to extort a release for a mere pittance. A recent case in Indiana, much less extreme than many, will illustrate the point. A workman had been killed under circumstances which showed gross negligence on the part of the employer. An adjuster of the company in which the employer was insured hurried to the home of the widow in hopes of securing a settlement before she became aware of her rights in the matter. "I did a good piece of work in that case," he later boasted. "It was a bad case

for us, two thousand in damages at the very least. But I found the widow crying and I soon talked her round to five hundred right off and signing a release."

Such a system is profitable only to the insurance companies and the lawyers. The sums realized by the injured persons or their heirs are ridiculous, averaging only about twenty-one dollars each. In ten years ending with 1907 eight of the largest liability companies collected in premiums \$82,732,705 and paid out to victims or their heirs \$34,951,103, much of which went to lawyers, many of them of the "ambulance chasing" type. The difference between what the employers paid and what their injured workmen or the heirs of such workmen received was almost forty-eight million dollars, obviously a great social waste diverted from the maimed, the widowed and the fatherless and turned into the pockets of judges, bailiffs, lawyers and insurance men and stockholders. No employer with bowels of compassion could contemplate this result and the methods used in effecting settlements without regretting that a better method is not in use.

A better method has been found. It is that of workmen's compensation acts, which are already in force in many European countries and in a few of the states of the Union. The details of such acts vary greatly, but in general the acts hold employers responsible for accidents befalling their employees while at work. In order to do away with litigation as much as possible a definite scale of damages, so

much for an eye, so much for a hand, so much for a leg, so much for a life, is drawn up, and the adjustment of claims is placed in the hands of a neutral commission. Employers are allowed or required to take out casualty insurance of some sort, more or less of an alternative usually being allowed as to the exact manner or method. In some cases employers are allowed to carry their own risks, to join in some sort of mutual plan or to insure in stock companies. At present the plan of state insurance is being much discussed, and has already been adopted in a few states.

Probably the first hint of state insurance against accident is to be found in a Montana law passed in 1909 levying a tax of one cent on each ton of coal mined, the proceeds to be used for compensation for accidents occurring in that industry. More fully developed systems have since been adopted in Washington, Wisconsin and Ohio.

The Ohio plan in its present compulsory form went into effect January 1, 1914. In its essence it is a form of mutual insurance administered by a state commission. Employers of five or more persons are required to pay a premium based on statistics showing the probable risk in their industry, and even towns and other local government units come under the law. In case the premium paid by employers in a given industry proves larger than necessary a rebate is given and the rate is lowered. This operates as an incentive to them to take every care to reduce

accidents. Employers have the right to carry their own risks or to enter a mutual company, but stock companies are excluded from the business. All employers of five or more persons are, however, required to pay a small rate toward the building up of a general surplus fund, whether they elect to take out state insurance or not. Claims for compensation are adjusted without litigation by the commission or its agents in accordance with a fixed scale based on the seriousness of the injury and the amount of wages the employee was receiving. Thus in case of the loss of a hand, an employee receives sixty-six and two-thirds per cent. of his average wage for a period of one hundred and fifty weeks, but in no case will the sum paid exceed twelve dollars per week or fall below five dollars per week. Medical, nurse and hospital services are also allowed, not to exceed two hundred dollars. In case of death funeral expenses not to exceed one hundred and fifty dollars are allowed, and the dependents receive sixty-six and two-thirds per cent. of the deceased's weekly wage for a period of six years; but the sum paid is in no case less than \$1,500 nor more than \$3,750, the same maximum and minimum rule applying as to the weekly amount as in the case of mere disability. In order to diminish what is known as "the gambling motive," that is, the temptation to bring suit in the hope of recovering much heavier damages, the law permits the aggrieved party to go into court only in case the injury resulted from the wilful act of the employer or of his agent

or because of the employer's neglect to provide safety appliances required by statute. Should such a suit fail, recovery in the ordinary way is denied. Thus the law makes it to the interest of the injured party to accept the usual compensation and litigation is reduced to a minimum. In fact, the effect of all forms of workmen's compensation is greatly to relieve the courts.

Notwithstanding constitutional and other obstacles, workmen's compensation seems to be coming with a rush. Its cost to employers will not much exceed the expenses to which they are at present subjected under the old common law plan, while the benefits conferred on those in need will be increased manifold. Employers are rapidly coming round to favor the compensation idea, and even many insurance men admit that they would infinitely prefer to engage in compensation rather than in liability insurance, with its many practices which they secretly deplore. The subject is one which is being debated and discussed by serious men in all parts of the country, and in several states commissions are now at work formulating bills. Even in New York, where an ultra-conservative court set aside a compensation act in the notorious Ives case, a constitutional amendment has been adopted conferring on the legislature power to protect the lives and safety of employees or to provide for any desired system of workmen's compensation for injury or death, and the legislature has passed such a law.

II

The entrance of women into industry is not a new phenomenon, but the problems created thereby are now being discussed as never before. For example, what number of hours shall women work and under what conditions shall they work? Shall they receive equal wages with men? Shall the state require their employers to pay them such wages as will enable them to live self-respecting lives?

As regards the first question little difference of opinion exists among well informed people not affected by a pocket interest. They would generally agree with the following passage from Annie MacLean's *Wage Earning Women*: "The prime function of woman must ever be the perpetuation of the race. If these other activities render her physically or morally unfit for the discharge of this large social duty, then woe to the generations that not only permit but encourage such wanton prostitution of function. The woman is worth more to society in dollars and cents as the mother of healthy children than as the swiftest labeler of cans. Yet our present industrial practise would indicate a preponderance of value in the latter. Five years of factory work may, and frequently do, render a girl of twenty-one nearly or quite a physical wreck, so far as a normal functioning is concerned. She may live thirty or forty years, she may even continue as a wage-earner, but at what a cost!"

Social reformers insist that the labor required of woman should be well within her strength and should leave her time both for rest and recreation. They hold that at the utmost the hours should not exceed eight per day, that every care should be taken to safeguard her physically and morally and that from such industries as mining and the making and selling of intoxicants she should be excluded altogether. Some states have already carefully regulated these matters by statute, but many others have failed to do so.

The question of whether women should receive equal wages with men has been much discussed. As Sidney Webb long ago pointed out, there are comparatively few instances in which women and men do exactly similar work at the same time and under similar conditions. Where they do attempt the same tasks, the woman's work is likely to be inferior, partly because of her inferior physical strength, partly because of lack of training. As a rule, women enter industry before they have learned to do anything well, and they rush along "sometimes in a daring, sometimes in a hopeless, fashion, now acquiring skill and again dropping below mediocrity or never rising above gross incompetency." Most of them expect soon to be married, and as a result take little interest in their work or in attaining any special skill in it. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to realize that they will work all their lives, that efficiency is the road to promotion, and hence outstrip

competitors of the other sex. It is notable that in industries where men and women are both employed the unskilled work is generally done by women, the skilled by men, though this is not always the case. Undoubtedly the development of trade schools for girls will in time do something to remedy the inequality, but the probability is that the difference in efficiency will always be more or less noticeable for reasons given above. It must be said, however, that in those cases where a woman does do as much and as good work as a man and the prospect of her future value to the firm is as good—and there are many such cases—it would seem only simple justice that she should be equally paid. Some attempts have already been made to regulate this matter.

The question of a living wage for women workers is just now decidedly to the forefront. It is well known that many do not receive such a wage. Five dollars a week in a large city is not a living wage, and yet a recent investigation in Massachusetts showed that forty-one per cent. of the women candy workers, ten and one-fifth per cent. of the saleswomen, sixteen and one-tenth per cent. of the laundry workers and twenty-three per cent. of the cotton workers receive less than that amount. In some towns many women, particularly shop-girls, receive only two dollars and fifty cents or three dollars per week. Unless they can stay at home or have some other source of income they can not live on such wages and it is notorious that immorality is the almost inevi-

table result. It is by no means true that a low wage is the only cause of "white slavery" or perhaps even the chief cause, but it is an important cause and has brought shame and ruin to many.

Not all persons who believe that employers have a duty in this matter are willing to agree that a minimum wage law is the proper remedy. President Wilson, as is well known, has opposed such legislation on the theory that the minimum wage for some would become the maximum wage for all; ex-President Roosevelt, with characteristic confidence, dismissed the objection as "purely academic." Perhaps all that can be said as to the real facts of the matter is that the minimum wage has been in use for some years in New Zealand and that the minimum has not become the maximum, though there is reason to believe that it would become so if the minimum were placed too high. The establishment of a minimum wage has a tendency to put so-called "marginal shops" out of business with consequent loss of employment to workers, and in more prosperous establishments to cause the dismissal of the less efficient workers and, of course, these tendencies become more pronounced the higher the minimum is placed. In New Zealand attempts have been made to care for such persons on public works, and it has been suggested that some such emergency employment should be provided in this country in case we should decide to adopt the minimum wage idea.

The minimum wage idea is still in the experimental

stage, but it has been adopted in England, and in this country by such states as Utah, Oregon, Minnesota, Washington, Wisconsin and Massachusetts, though in the last mentioned state the only penalty imposed on an employer for failing to pay the minimum is the publication of his name and he can escape even this if he can prove that such a wage would harm his business seriously. The Oregon law established an industrial welfare commission with power to fix both minimum wages and maximum hours, which the commission decided should be eight dollars and sixty-four cents per week and nine hours a day in certain industries in the city of Portland. The state courts have held the law constitutional as being in the interest of the general welfare and hence within the police power of the state. Father O'Hara of the commission says of the law: "An industry which does not pay its employees enough to cover their necessary costs of living is a parasite on the homes of the poor and is subsidized by its employees. If any industry is so important to the community as to deserve to be sustained by a subsidy, such a subsidy should come from some other source than its working girls. The principle on which the act is based is that the welfare of women must take precedence over any commercial consideration. The mothers of the future generation should not be sacrificed to industrial gain."

The minimum wage, however, is only one phase of the problem of the woman worker. Even should it be adopted in every state, there will remain a vast

amount of work which will tax to the utmost the Consumers' League, trade unions, trade schools, social settlements, Y. W. C. A.'s, churches and the various other uplifting forces engaged in improving the condition of the woman who toils.

III

So much has been said and written recently concerning child labor that I shall not discuss it at much length here. There are certain aspects of the subject, however, which deserve more emphasis than is usually given them. One is that, strangely enough and contrary to the usual opinion, many children prefer working in a factory to going to school. In 1912 Helen Todd, for years a factory inspector in Chicago, asked five hundred children in twenty different factories this question: "If your father had a good job and you didn't have to work, which would you rather do—go to school or work in a factory?" And all but eighty-eight voted for the factory. Their reasons were various and illuminating:

"'Because you get paid for what you do in a factory.' 'Because it's easier to work in a factory than it is to learn in school.' 'You never understands what they tells you in school, and you can learn right off to do things in a factory.' 'They ain't always pickin' on you because you don't know things in a factory.' 'You can't never do t'ings right in school.' 'The boss he never hits yer, er slaps yer face, or pulls yer ears, or makes yer stay in at recess.' 'It's so hard to

learn.' 'I don't like to learn.' 'I couldn't learn.' 'The children don't holler at ye and call ye a Christ-killer in a factory.' 'They don't call ye a Dago.' 'They're good to you at home when you earn money.' 'Youse can eat sittin' down when youse work.' 'You can go to the nickel show.' 'You don't have to work so hard at night when you get home.' 'Yer folks don't hit ye so much.' 'You can buy shoes for the baby.' 'You can give yer mother yer pay envelope.' 'What ye learn in school ain't no good. Ye git paid as much in the factory if ye never was there.'"

Here certainly is a terrific indictment of the Chicago schools, nor is it probable that those of some other cities would escape any better. As one girl declared: "School is de fiercest t'ing youse kin come up against. Factories ain't no cinch, but school is worse." The truth would seem to be that the schools have failed to meet the needs of the class from which these children come, and it is clear that in solving the child labor problem some readjustments must be made in our educational system. The main answer is not necessarily a greatly changed curriculum, though modifications in the way of vocational training are doubtless desirable, but *better teachers*—men and women of character and force and true knowledge, not immature girls seeking a little money while waiting for matrimony. Next, *more teachers*, so that each child can have a larger share of the teacher's personal attention. And all this means increased expenditures.

Another aspect of the question that needs emphasis

is that child labor is not wholly a question of employers' greed. There is greed enough, and too much, but there is also another clause. A large proportion of the children come from homes where there exists a real need for the assistance they can give. Some parents, of course, are like the poor white in a southern saloon who exclaimed: "What all's the use of me workin' when I have three head of gals in the mill?" But love of offspring is not a monopoly of the rich or well-to-do, and we may rest assured that the great majority of parents of children who toil bitterly regret the necessity. Child labor is one of the many aspects of the great problem of poverty, and should be considered as such. Every influence that makes for poverty makes for child labor and every influence tending in the other direction helps to solve the child labor question. Low wages on the part of the father because of ill-health, defective training, employer's greed or the ruinous competition of the ever coming immigrant horde, drink, sickness, death—whether resulting naturally or from industrial accidents or occupational disease—all these and many other influences help to increase the child labor crop. "There they stand," says a writer, "between the mockery of what civilization has made of their homes, and the wreckage that machinery and speeded-up industry will make of their lives."

A large number of child workers come from homes in which the father is dead or is an invalid, for unfortunately "the poor widow," who is made so

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much of by opponents of child labor legislation, is not always a myth. There are thousands of cases similar to that of the little girl who said to a social worker: " 'I make six cents a thousand pasting on cigar bands. Mother makes eighteen cents an hour scrubbing.' 'And can you and your mother earn enough money to take care of the family?' 'Yes, ma'am,' she answers, 'we gotta.' " To such children work is actually a question of bread, while most of the rest come from homes where their wages add perceptibly to the standard of living, which would be very low otherwise. Statistics show that the average wage for men in the United States is less than six hundred dollars a year, that half receive under five hundred dollars and that approximately one-tenth receive less than three hundred and twenty-five dollars. When we bear in mind the high cost of living, we need not wonder that so many children are in the mills. Low wages, however, are not the only cause. General shiftlessness, inability to manage and, above all, the fearful waste of money for inutilities drag many a worker's family into the pit. Writers about child labor are perhaps too prone to lay all the blame on the shoulders of employers; a large share lies with the parents themselves. The simple truth is that drink and kindred vices have a great deal to do with it.

Negative legislation prohibiting child labor is desirable but more than this is needed. Ways must be found for relieving the conditions that sometimes seem to make such labor almost inevitable. Anything

which tends to improve the condition of the working class—higher wages, workmen's compensation, safer working conditions, elimination of the liquor traffic—is helpful. Abroad three chief methods are being employed: minimum wage laws, compulsory insurance and the feeding of needy children in schools. The sentiment of the National Child Labor Conference of 1913 was for a carefully guarded mothers' pension act, and acts along this line have already been passed by Wisconsin, Massachusetts and numerous other states. Generally speaking, these acts provide for pensions to widows or deserted mothers having dependent children.

An interesting experiment in feeding poor children was made in the spring of 1913 in the Wood School of Philadelphia under the supervision of Doctor Wood Roach. The school is situated in a district largely inhabited by indigent families, and its enrolment contained a considerable number of physically deficient children who were backward in their studies. A hundred and thirteen, about a third of the whole number, being those who seemed to be under-nourished, were placed in a special class or clinic. At half after ten these children were given a meal of milk and cereals, the food being donated by a large cereal company and by certain milk companies, while the expense of preparing it was borne by a public-spirited individual. At the end of four weeks' time the children had gained heavily in weight, had improved in color, spirits, activity and interest in school work as is evinced by

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the fact that their general average in spelling jumped from fifty-seven and seven-tenths to seventy-eight and one-fifth and in arithmetic from seventy-three to seventy-nine.

Advocates of child labor legislation contend that children are our greatest national asset and that the principles of humanity are never really in conflict with economic law even though they may conflict with the financial interests of selfish factory owners. They declare that the energy lost to the world when a child is broken in health or is stunted physically is infinitely more valuable than what little factory work he is able to do from the age of ten to that of sixteen. Nor does the loss end there. Child labor entails weakness, physical, mental and moral, upon generations yet unborn; and cheap as it seems, it is the most expensive of all for society at large. For every dollar gained now by such exploitation a hundred will later be paid in the form of diminished earnings, poor relief and criminal expenses.

A writer on the subject has pointed out that farmers do not attempt to work ungrown colts, for they realize that if they do so they will probably diminish the future value of the animals. As a rule, draft colts are not even hitched up until they are about two years old, when they have attained practically their full growth and strength. Shall it be said of the American people that they take better care of their colts than they do of their children?

Another feature of the child labor question that

deserves attention concerns the minimum age. That age in most states which have adopted the best laws on the subject is fixed at fourteen years. Some reformers contend that it is too young, though infinitely better than ten or twelve. They hold that the child, whether boy or girl, is just then in the midst of the period of adolescence, which all authorities, both medical and psychological, are agreed is the most critical in life. New Zealand forbids the employment in mills and various other industries of boys under sixteen and of girls under eighteen. It is true that the committee on uniform legislation in the states is advocating fourteen as the proper age but doubtless on the theory of not the best but the best possible.

Paradoxical as the statement may seem, there are reformers who believe that children ought not to be excluded from all employment. The boy who has never done a stroke of work until he is fourteen or sixteen misses valuable training and is likely to be lazy through life. Here, in fact, is another problem—that of providing something suitable for children to do to keep them out of idleness. In the country this problem finds a happy solution in the form of feeding stock, carrying in wood, milking and other chores and work done under the oversight of parents. In the city during school months the children are busy with school work and there exists no special need for other occupation, but during the vacation months, in families living in flats or apartments or on small lots, there is virtually nothing for the boys

to do. To average boys of twelve to fourteen years four or six hours of light work under sanitary surroundings, moral and physical, would be a godsend. As it is, they roam the city streets engaging in all sorts of questionable amusements. It is my deliberate judgment—and some will disagree—that it would be better for such boys, *during the vacation period*, to be working in factories, even under prevailing conditions than to be left to idleness and their own devices. Who will come forward with a plan for filling this real want?

The progress of child labor legislation in recent years has been rapid and it is probable that within a short time all the states will have enacted reasonably stringent legislation. According to Doctor Alexander J. McKelway, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Vermont are at present the most backward in this respect. The laws in several other states are laxer than they should be, but these are the worst offenders.

In case these states or any of them remain deaf to the voice of progress, the ultimate outcome may be a federal law excluding child-labor-made products from interstate industry. Such a bill was championed several years ago by Senator Beveridge, and another was introduced in the Sixty-third Congress, but all such measures have encountered much opposition, ostensibly on constitutional grounds. Recent court decisions indicate that such a law would be sustained, and certainly if the power of the national government

can be used under the commerce clause to give protection to ducks and geese flying from one state to another, it must be broad enough to wipe out the disgrace and hideous wrong of child labor.

But mere laws are not enough. They must be enforced, a thing that is not done in some states that in theory are well advanced in this matter.

IV

What the ultimate outcome of the conflict between labor and capital will be no man can prophesy with certainty, but it is safe to say that in obtaining the ultimate solution more weight than hitherto will be laid on the element of humanity and less on dividends. For the sake of all of us it is important that capital and its representatives should take this broader view. Should capital persist in the narrow course which it has too often followed in the past there is good reason to believe with Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson that it will create "a condition that will cause society to modify or change the titles to property, as it has a perfect right to do whenever in its judgment it deems it for the welfare of society to do it." But the obligations are not all on the side of capital. Society is as little ready to accept an oligarchy of labor as to tolerate longer an oligarchy of capital. In its demands labor should be reasonable and moderate and its leaders should eliminate some of the vexatious and absurd regulations which now hamper

industry in centers where the unions are powerful. And where hours are reasonable, wages fair, conditions safe and sanitary and proper provision is made to guard the interests of the maimed, the widowed and the fatherless, workers should be slow to harken to the incendiary preachings of fanatical agitators.

Every added bit of knowledge regarding labor and industry is a step forward. There are many earnest and patriotic men in the ranks of both capital and labor anxious to find a better basis, but they grope in darkness, and the well-meant efforts of such men have often ended in failure, with resultant bitterness and disappointment. If a solution could be found we may be sure that the well intentioned on both sides—who make up the great majority—would welcome it gladly.

There is reason to hope that investigations now being conducted by the Industrial Relations Commission will contribute something toward such a solution. This commission was authorized by congress, and its members were appointed by President Wilson in 1913. According to Chairman Walsh the commission will investigate questions of industrial unrest, wages, the protection of laborers against accident and occupational disease and the general welfare of workers in all phases. The members will approach these questions, "not as lawyers, but as human beings," and seek for remedies legal or otherwise. He declares that "if there is anything in the present common law that violently collides with the present conscience of the

world along industrial lines, then let the work of this commission be the beginning of a new code of common law; if the Constitution does not permit us to get such legal redress, then let the people rise up and amend this Constitution or repeal that portion of it which limits or retards justice."

When everything else is said, it remains extremely doubtful whether any measure that we could adopt would go so far toward improving the condition of the wage-earning class in America as a stringent anti-immigration law. The annual introduction of hundreds of thousands of laborers, lured by the hope of higher wages, has already done much to drag American workers down to the European level. In course of time, if a radical restrictive policy is not adopted, wages in America will be little higher than those of "the most impoverished populations permitted to enter our ports."

CHAPTER VIII

BIG BUSINESS

I

ON the second of July, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison signed what is known to history as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The alleged purpose of this act was to break up what appeared to be a growing tendency toward dangerous concentration of capital in the business world. Its most important clause declared that "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal." The penalties provided were fine or imprisonment or both.

In the next twenty-four years many prosecutions were instituted under the act, and many resultant decisions were handed down by the courts. What were the net results? The trusts, like the poor, were still with us and in greatly increased numbers and vastly increased power. In spite of many pages filled with judicial erudition, the country did not know what the act permitted nor what it prohibited. No great trust had ever been seriously punished under it and prac-

tically the only persons who had served jail sentences as a result of violating its provisions were certain labor leaders.

It had been a long struggle, but a struggle partaking more of the elements of a "sham battle" than of a real conflict. The climax to the comedy—or tragedy—came in 1911 in the decisions handed down by the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust cases. For almost two years these cases had been before the court. They had been argued and reargued. If there was such a thing as violation of the Sherman Act, most assuredly these companies were guilty. There was hardly a weapon in the whole armory of questionable trust practices which they had not used, not once merely but many times. If ever there was an instance in the history of jurisprudence in which a hardened offender by persistent and long continued defiance of law had been rendered liable to drastic handling by a court, one of these defendants at least was such an offender. The profits of violation had been enormous. They exceeded in value all the pearls, the rich plate and pieces of eight ever captured by buccaneers on the Spanish Main, all the valuables extorted by the Dick Turpins, Jesse Jameses and other knights of the road since the beginning of time, all the money wrongfully acquired by the multifarious activities of all the prisoners in all the penitentiaries in the whole United States; and the profits had been taken, thanks to the successful violation of the law, from the pockets of the American people.

But did the court evince any tendency toward what in the circumstances might be termed "proper judicial vindictiveness?" Let us see.

To all intents and purposes the two decisions were practically the same and, for space reasons, we shall consider in detail only that of the Standard Oil Company. The court's decree ordered the dissolution of the company, and ultimately over seven months' time was allowed the defendant in which to comply. The trust was broken up into thirty-eight separate companies, which were not to have common officers or directors; but as the ownership of the stock was not widely held, the shares of the subsidiary companies were distributed ratably to the stockholders. The result is that the old stockholders own the separate companies just as they owned the old trust. The theory of the court seems to have been that the thirty-eight companies would at once proceed to compete with one another and that the public would get the benefit. But that the thirty-eight companies all commonly owned by John D. Rockefeller and his associates are likely to engage in any very vigorous competition is difficult to believe, especially when the fact is borne in mind that seven of the more important companies were allowed to retain headquarters at 26 Broadway. One can not help wondering whether it would be very difficult in a quiet way for the word to pass from office to office that the price of oil should be so much on such and such a date. A good indication of the real effects of the decision can be obtained

by studying the market for Standard Oil stocks and the price of Standard Oil products. The stock of the company quickly rose more than three hundred dollars a share, from about five hundred and eighty-five dollars to about nine hundred dollars and ultimately still higher; while the price of kerosene did not fall and that of gasoline was several times advanced. Somewhat similar phenomena appeared as results of the "dissolution" of the Tobacco Trust. Little wonder that many people regarded the decision as the most tremendous judicial joke ever perpetrated by any tribunal.

Doubtless the Sherman Act caused combinations to be more moderate in their aggressions, but it was no satisfactory solution of the trust problem. Under it dissolutions dissolve nothing. As was well said: "Combinations are Protean, and we are baffled by shadowy communities of interest which seem to have no bodies we can grasp. Our lawyers perform inscrutable incantations, making many stock certificates grow where one grew before, but the people are not satisfied that these ceremonies have exorcised the spirit of monopoly from the body of large business."

Industries continued to be controlled by formal combinations of capital, while in those which were not so organized prices were generally fixed by secret understandings, and the burden borne by the consumer was fully as heavy. Even money and credit were dominated by a financial oligarchy popularly known as "the Money Trust." This trust, which prob-

ably had no formal organization, was the result of an alliance between J. P. Morgan and Company, the National City Bank and the First National Bank, all of New York City. Through stock holdings, voting trusts, and interlocking directorates it controlled corporations having an aggregate capitalization of \$22,245,000,000. Its tentacles stretched out to every part of the country, and it controlled railroads and public and industrial corporations of every sort. In the words of Louis D. Brandeis: "Though properly but middlemen, these bankers bestride as masters America's business world, so that practically no large enterprise can be undertaken successfully without their participation or approval." Little wonder that when a Congressional investigator asked a prominent member of the trust: "You think everything is all right as it is in this world, do you not?" he answered, "Pretty nearly."

II

What should we do to be saved—from monopoly?—was the great question confronting the country when the Wilson administration came into power. Should we continue our efforts, practically fruitless hitherto, to break up the trusts or should we try some other plan? In order for an individual to reach any reasoned conclusion in the matter it was first necessary for him to find an answer to each of the following questions:

I. Is the development of large business combinations in the nature of trusts or monopolies a natural one?

II. Are there any advantages resulting from such combinations which might be turned to the benefit of the general public?

III. Is it practicable to break up existing combinations?

I. Some deny that the development of great business combinations of the kind we are discussing is a natural one and insist that artificial advantages such as the protective tariff are responsible for their growth. By preventing serious competition from abroad the tariff has undoubtedly contributed to the success of such combinations as the Steel Trust, but it could hardly be proved that the tariff was of much assistance to Standard Oil, the anthracite combination or the Tobacco Trust. Such combinations as these succeeded because of the large business capacity of their managers, the economic advantages of concentration and the use of such devices as rebates and drawbacks, local underselling, etc.—devices which could be called “natural” until specially prohibited by law. Indeed, the failure of the various laws passed both by the federal government and by certain states to restrain monopolistic tendencies raises the question: “Have not these efforts at repression failed because in conflict with a natural economic tendency?” Those who answer “Yes” to this question assert that the trust movement is merely a mani-

festation of a tendency toward combination and closer social cooperation discernible the world over and resulting in the main from the Industrial Revolution.

II. The chief purpose in the creation of most great business combinations has undoubtedly been the elimination of competition and the consequent collection of profits resulting from control of prices, but the promoters of such enterprises, out of regard for public sentiment, have usually put forward the savings of combination as their justification for the proposed step. Now it is probably true that elimination of serious competition has usually produced a very large share of the great profits of many trusts, but can we dismiss the economies resulting from combination as negligible or non-existent? There are some people who insist that we can. Mr. Brandeis, for example, denies that with increase of size comes increase of efficiency. He insists that when a business grows beyond a certain size the man at the head has a diminishing knowledge of the facts and a diminishing opportunity of exercising careful oversight and judgment over them, that there "develops a centrifugal force greater than the centripetal force," and that demoralization sets in. Secretary Redfield in his first annual report sets forth similar views in these words: "There is a growing question in the minds of experienced and thoughtful men as to whether the 'trust' form of organization is industrially efficient and whether bigness and bulk are always necessary to production at the lowest cost. It may be conceded

that massing of capital and the grouping of great quantities of labor have certain elements of efficiency. But it is doubtful, at best, whether these favorable elements are all the factors that exist and whether there does not come a point of maximum efficiency at minimum cost beyond which an increase of product means an increase of cost per unit of that product." And he has set the bureau of corporations to work to ascertain whether "these bulky things that we have so much feared are in an economic sense real giants in strength or whether they are but images with feet of clay."

Those who take the opposite view of the question admit that there are some industries that perhaps do not readily lend themselves to concentration and they deny that the failure of such combinations as J. P. Morgan's International Mercantile Marine are decisive. They point out that in some cases these companies started under a load of water that was bound to swamp them even under the best of management, which was not the universal rule. They specify a number of ways in which great combinations manage to effect economies that are impossible to smaller ones. For example, when an industry is combined under one management it is usually found unnecessary to operate so many plants as hitherto. The result is that the capital invested in plants will be less and running expenses will be decreased for, of course, not so many experts, such as chemists and engineers, and not so many administrators will be required un-

der one management as under several. The great combination can buy its raw material at a lower cost, or it may even own the sources of the raw material. It can deal to better advantage with labor, can save valuable by-products that might otherwise be lost, can borrow money with more certainty and to better advantage and can locate its factories in the most strategic positions. Furthermore, in selling its products it has no important competition to fear; it can wait for buyers and has less occasion to spend immense sums of money in advertising and in keeping salesmen on the road fighting for the market.*

The weight of economic opinion seems to be on the side of those who contend that combination, within limits, is more efficient and economical in some forms of industry than haphazard and unrelated production. It is true that a large part of the profits of such trusts as Standard Oil have been due to ability to fix prices, but a share must also be attributed to the savings of combination.

Now society is interested in any device, whether mechanical or otherwise, which will enable work to be done more efficiently and economically. Is the system of combination such a device? If it is, then clearly society instead of endeavoring to destroy it should proceed to control it and set it to work for society.

One objection to trusts and combines hitherto has

* For a more extended discussion of the wastes of competition see page 253.

been that they have not been operated in the interest of society at large but of a few controlling individuals. These individuals have not only not been satisfied to take as their reward "the savings of combination," but by virtue of being able to control the market have exacted extortionate prices as well. The public, therefore, has not only not profited by such combinations; it has been victimized and robbed. Little wonder that a demand arose for the extirpation of the trusts root and branch.

III. About all that can be said with regard to the practicability of breaking up the great combinations is that for years we strove to do so and failed. The Sherman Act did not accomplish that object, and we can only conjecture what might be done under new laws. The game of hide-and-seek progressed merrily for twenty-four years, and we have no assurance that it may not last another twenty-four. The trusts are established. They are sturdy. They are strong. Their roots lie deep in the financial world. Even should a policy of complete dissolution finally triumph, an unequaled financial cataclysm might ensue. And all to what end? some query. Perhaps to discover that we had been fighting a natural economic tendency.

A number of courses lay open to the Wilson administration. It could say to the trusts: "The nation has tried to break you and has failed. Henceforth we shall not interfere. Do as you will." It could continue trying to enforce the old Sherman Act

as it was, or as the courts said it was. It could amend the Sherman Act or supplement it or pass an entirely new act along similar lines, put in new and sharper teeth, and continue the struggle to regenerate and restore competition. Or it could recognize that the trusts are a natural economic development and proceed to regulate them in such a way as to secure for the general public part of the alleged advantages resulting from large scale productions.*

The first course was not seriously considered; the second had nothing but past failure to commend it; and the party in power was virtually committed in advance to the third alternative. The Democratic platform of 1912 had declared: "A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal as well as the civil law against trusts and trust officers and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a monopoly to exist in the United States. We favor the declaration by law of the conditions upon which corporations shall be permitted to engage in interstate trade, including, among others, the prevention of holding companies, of interlocking directors, of stock watering, of discrimination in prices and the control by any one corporation of so large a proportion of any industry as to make it a menace to competitive conditions."

* For a consideration of the alternative advocated by the Socialists see Chapter XV.

As the Democratic program when this is written has just been enacted into law, it can not be considered except in the broadest outline. Prefatory to and contributory toward the general plan the party in power has passed a tariff act and a currency law. The former, its upholders assert, will tend to weaken trusts, and the latter is partially designed to destroy the control of New York City in financial matters—in other words, is aimed at the Money Trust.

The trust program proper originally included the retention of the old Sherman Act, a bill for the creation of a Federal Trade Commission, the Clayton Bill designed to abolish business practices that tend toward a restraint of trade, and a bill to regulate the issue of stocks and bonds by common carriers doing interstate business. The Trade Commission is modeled somewhat after the Interstate Commerce Commission, and is to have wide powers of investigation into matters connected with interstate trade and more restricted powers of enforcing anti-trust laws. The Clayton Bill prohibits interlocking directorates in certain cases and forbids such practices as discrimination between purchasers and various other practices designed to create monopoly. The securities measure struck at the evils arising out of watered stock, while the Clayton Bill contains a section aimed at such plundering practices as have brought the Frisco line and the New York, New Haven and Hartford into their present ruinous state.

All the bills were opposed, but the attacks upon

some features were more vigorous than upon others. The exemption of agricultural and labor organizations, "lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof," from the provisions of the Clayton Bill came in for especially determined opposition, as did the provision limiting the injunction powers of the Federal courts. The securities bill aroused so much opposition that ultimately it was dropped.

The fourth plan for solving the trust problem is that which is advocated by the Progressive party. In reality, the Democratic plan and the Progressive plan tend to approach each other. The Democrats propose to restore competition but also to regulate combination; the Progressives, to regulate combination but also to safeguard competition. Obviously the distance between the two plans depends on where the emphasis is placed in each.

The fourth course is itself susceptible of subdivision, depending on the extent to which combination is recognized. For one thing, it may be recognized as superseding competition; or, it may be recognized, but at the same time an effort may be made to retain competitive conditions.

The first of these plans would doubtless be found the more desirable in dealing with natural monopolies in municipalities. It is obvious that there should be only one street railway system, one telephone system, one water-works, one gas company, in order to secure the citizens against inconvenience and avoid the economic wastes of competition, whose existence,

in these conditions, no one will deny. But in cases where the competitive idea is dropped careful regulation of service and rates would have to be provided. The old way was to leave such matters largely to the courts, but it was far from an effective way, and in too many instances the corporations managed to evade their obligations and take advantage of the public. The modern way is a public service commission which will consider the complaint of any citizen and enforce justice without the citizen being compelled to resort to an expensive court of law.

In other forms of business such as are not natural monopolies the method, at least at first, would probably be to recognize the right to concentration and cooperation to an extent sufficient to secure the highest economic efficiency, but to provide for such control as would insure justice to the public. Unfair practices would be prohibited, publicity would be required and patent rights would perhaps be modified. The control would, of course, be placed in the hands of a federal trade commission, having much greater powers than that proposed by the Democrats.

Ultimately it would probably be necessary to give the commission power to fix maximum prices. Such a task would be a large contract. A recent writer on the subject objects "that the fixing of levels of business prices and earnings is a subject about which the country does not yet know as much as many optimists suppose, that trust control by this method would raise new and serious difficulties of a kind not

yet experienced, and that from being the simplest way of handling trusts, this method, if carried out to the end, might unsettle our economic foundations in a way that would make our present perplexities seem trivial by comparison." The same author thinks that the physical task of fixing an immense range of prices would be too great for any commission. He doubts whether under such a system sufficient incentive would exist to insure invention and improve methods, and believes that not only would the prices of finished products have to be regulated but also those paid by combinations to producers of raw materials.

Advocates of price regulation admit that the task would be a large one but insist that we can not escape it. They think that the elimination of unfair business methods would break up some combinations whose main advantage consists in the use of such methods and that the task of regulation would thereby be considerably diminished. Furthermore, they believe that by no means every price would be called in question and that as regards prices paid by combinations, these would usually adjust themselves, for the reason that producers of such materials would soon retire from a business that was unprofitable, and in the end the combination would be injured. They say that hitherto, as a rule, trusts have paid reasonably satisfactory prices for material, though there have been exceptions such as in the case of the burly tobacco growers of "night-rider" fame.

The beef magnates, on the other hand, have found it essential to pay the highest prices ever yet paid in America for cattle and hogs, as otherwise stock-raisers would turn their energies into other lines. As regards the alleged tendency of price regulation to check initiative and progress in business methods, it is suggested that a plan might be adopted similar to that in use in Boston in regard to gas. For every decrease in the price of gas the gas company is allowed an increasing profit, and naturally this encourages the company to increased efficiency in production. Professor Chester W. Wright of the University of Chicago concludes "that since our present experience in the regulation of public service companies has met with reasonable success, there being no indication that it is likely to be abandoned; and since there is no reason for believing the problem would be much more difficult in the case of the few industrial trusts where other remedies are inadequate—therefore we are not justified in condemning governmental price regulation on the basis of these objections."

Advocates of the regulation of combinations, and especially those advocates of the more extreme type, having beheld how competition must be guarded, pampered and nursed to be kept in even its present invalid state, are frankly skeptical as to whether it can ever be restored to its old robustness. Nor would some of them restore it if they could. They consider it wasteful, warlike, barbarous, leaving its victims

strewn on the field of business enterprise; they think of it as Tennyson did of Nature, "Red in tooth and claw."

Believers in this theory hold that gradually in the consciousness of economic students, rising slowly but ever clearer like the picture on a developing photographic plate, there is dawning an image of the best solution of the mighty industrial problem which confronts the nation. They admit that many people have not yet had a glimpse of it, that to others has not come a definite idea of its meaning, but they believe that the final emergence in clear relief so that all can understand is certain. And beneath the image they see the key-words, "Concentration, cooperation, and control."*

Yet even this solution, if it is a solution, may prove only temporary. The time may come when society will not only control but own concentrated industries.

* See Van Hise, *Concentration, Co-operation, and Control*, page 278.

CHAPTER IX

THE ACHILLES HEEL OF PLUTOCRACY

I

THE fortune of the richest private citizen in the world is variously estimated, but probably it is at least \$360,000,000. That is a good deal of money. To amass so much by ordinary methods would take a long time. If Adam on the day of his creation in the Garden had begun working for some generous employer at a salary of two hundred dollars a day and all expenses, including those of his side partner and the little Cains and Abels, if he had lived and worked three hundred days in every year until the present time, if he had deposited every dollar of his wages in some vault where neither rust could corrupt nor thieves break in and steal, he would now, after the expiration of six thousand years of unexampled industry, be worth about the sum that we have credited to our fellow citizen of Pocantico and Forest Hill.

Nothing can be more self-evident than that no man can become so wealthy in a single lifetime by ordinary methods. To acquire so much one must either discover a gold mine or gain a coign of vantage whence

he can reap part of the fruits of the industry of society at large. That the methods whereby such places of vantage are gained are not always above reproach is admitted even by members of the class to which great fortunes belong. Any reader of these lines can name offhand a dozen great fortunes that have resulted from successful frauds, thefts, corruption, or evasion of law.

However a fortune is acquired, the rapidity with which it piles up when fairly started is one of the terrifying features of our civilization, for an inscrutable Providence has decreed that "to him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Unfortunately the comforting saying, "Three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves," is fallacious. One need cite only the cases of the Rothschilds in Europe and of the Astors and Vanderbilts in our own country to prove that it does not hold true. The multiplication of trust companies and other agencies whereby heirs can be guarded against the financial results of their own folly renders the rule even less true now than heretofore. It may be granted that henceforth the opportunities for building enormous fortunes from the ground up will probably be less than formerly, but those who receive transmitted wealth will still continue to enjoy an enormous advantage. For "nothing makes money like money."

The exact extent to which wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few in the United States is not ac-

curately known. Doctor Charles B. Spahr, in a book on the subject, estimated that in 1890 the distribution was about as follows:

	Number of Families	Wealth	Average
Wealthy classes . . .	125,000	\$33,000,000,000	\$264,000
\$50,000 and over			
Well-to-do classes . .	1,375,000	23,000,000,000	16,000
\$50,000 to \$5,000			
Middle classes	5,500,000	8,200,000,000	1,500
\$5,000 to \$500			
Poorer classes	5,500,000	800,000,000	150
Under \$500			
	<hr/> 12,500,000	<hr/> \$65,000,000,000	<hr/> \$5,200

Since 1890 the aggregate wealth of the country has more than doubled, and is now estimated by the census bureau at about \$150,000,000,000. The population of the country is probably a little short of 100,000,000, so that the average wealth per capita is about \$1,500, or \$6,750 per family, but it should be borne in mind that a dollar now represents much less real value than it did in 1890. Has the relative distribution of that wealth changed in favor of the mass of the population? In view of the vast fortunes piled up in railroad and trust manipulations, in tariff-fostered manufactures and in a hundred other ways since 1890 there is no reason to believe that it has. In fact the tendency has probably been the other way. And it would be safe to say that if 125,000 families controlled more than half of the wealth of the country in 1890, then the same number of families control more than half of our wealth now.

Whatever may be the exact facts in cold figures, we know this much beyond question—that in and about such cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco there are thousands of families who live, not on the proceeds of their own industry, but on the income derived from wealth handed down from enterprising forebears. The heads of many such families engage more or less in business, but the main factor in their opulence is inherited property. We know further that in and about these cities and elsewhere in the country there are other families the heads of which have worked harder but were less wise in their choice of ancestors with the result that such families have scarcely a roof to shelter them or clothes to hide their nakedness.

Now there are all kinds of people among the rich, just as there are all kinds of people among the poor. A large proportion are just as patriotic as you or I, just as considerate of other people, just as intelligent, just as cultured or more so, just as anxious to aid in good causes. In fact if a composite picture could be taken of the rich it would bear little resemblance to the pictures that have been presented to us of that class in the columns of the sensational press.

Yet unfortunately there are just such people as the press has described. They are in a minority, no doubt, yet their deeds, misdeeds and general bad example far outweigh all the philanthropies of a Carnegie, a Mrs. Shepard or a Mrs. Sage. There does

exist among us a plutocratic aristocracy that is undermining the ideals of the republic. Its founders are men of force, but there are few men of force among their descendants. The son of such a founder is not infrequently "a fool and the daughter a foreign princess." In general, the second, third and fourth generations form a class of drones who toil not and spin only in motor-cars. They breed a love of luxury and a contempt for equality and democratic institutions. They transform our great universities into social clubs and look down on learning with an affectation of infinite superiority. They can drive a coach and four down Piccadilly, but their palms know not the handle of the plow. Aping the effete aristocracies of Europe, they too often affect a deep contempt for all things American except American dollars.

The heirs of great wealth may be divided into three classes. First, there are those who have been carefully trained in business and who, on coming into their inheritances, are usually able to continue their fathers' careers with a fair degree of credit. Secondly, there are those who, though without much business training, have through education acquired a comprehension of the responsibilities of wealth. To such as these a great fortune is often an embarrassment. Our millionaire socialists belong in this class.

Thirdly, there is the large number who have neither been well grounded in business matters nor properly educated to a sense of their responsibilities. By such as these an inheritance is regarded merely as a means

of ministering to their own selfish pleasures and appetites. Their example is a menace to our ideals and they constitute a danger in the financial world. It is the testimony of persons in position to know that many business failures, involving loss and ruin to others, are due to mistakes made by such persons. "Out of seven serious failures during a panic in New York," says Mr. Andrew Carnegie in a recent magazine article,* "five were traced to this root." Having acquired no sense of responsibility while young, having never been compelled to do a thing well, these men had not attained that efficiency and steadiness of character essential to the conduct of great enterprises.

Perhaps the main indictment that is brought against great wealth is that it is wasteful. Many members of families of great wealth entirely cease to earn their own way. It was this class which Justice Wesley O. Howard of the New York bench had in mind in the following passage from a recent speech: "The sons of the rich—arrogant, insolent, indolent, useless, without calling or occupation or profession—these are not only a nuisance to society, but they are a curse and a menace to the republic. They toil not, neither do they spin, yet they eat the fat of the land. They are the parasites of civilization, drawing their nourishment not from the soil, but from the bodies of others. They are the propagators of communism; they are the creators of hatred between the classes and the masses. It takes a thousand men to support every

* *The Century Magazine* for January, 1914, page 441.

idle millionaire. His houses, his yachts, his automobiles, his table, his gasoline, his garden, his clothes, his wines, his cigars, his diamonds, his furs, his race-horses, his golf-links—all these are supplied to him by slaves who labor only for their bread. These drones in society sap the substance of the poor; each one wastes more than a hundred families consume; by their extravagance they augment the high cost of living; they eat the steaks, and the laboring man boils the bones."

Such a view is, of course, a radical one and wealth is not without its apologists and defenders. We are told that if it were not for families of great wealth culture would remain at a low ebb and art would not develop. There is a certain amount of truth in the statement. Millionaires often have beautiful homes and regard themselves as peculiarly the patrons of music, sculpture and painting. Their Morgans endow museums of art and buy for their own galleries at fabulous prices the work of great artists both ancient and modern. They pursue culture from the prairies beside Lake Michigan through the palaces and caravansaries of England and France to *palazzos* beside the Po. They have performed in some instances real service to the cause of beauty and esthetics in America, and yet it would be difficult to prove that they are indispensable in such matters. Their culture is often superficial, dependent largely on outward forms and surroundings rather than on the inward spirit; assuredly they have no such monopoly of

culture as they have of money. There is likely to be little difference between the culture of a family with an income of five hundred thousand dollars and one with an income of five thousand dollars, and if there is a difference it is just as apt to be in favor of the latter as of the former. State benefactions in aid of art would perhaps serve the cause of art equally well. Nor are people of great wealth themselves creators in the lines which they regard as particularly under their patronage. It would be difficult to name a single American millionaire who has ever done great work either in painting, sculpture, architecture, music or belles-lettres. The real creators do not come from the millionaire class.*

II

What is the remedy for the concentration of wealth which we have been discussing? A million voters answer, "Socialism"; and their proposal will be considered in detail in a later chapter. "The single tax," say others. But the single tax touches only a part of the problem, and neither it nor Socialism could be adopted without a tremendous shock to our whole economic and political system. There is, however, another remedy that has its advocates, a remedy that

* "Let one select the three or four most celebrated names of men supremely great in every field of human triumph, and note how small is the contribution of hereditary rank and wealth to the list of immortals who have lifted and advanced the race."—Andrew Carnegie, in *The Century Magazine* for January, 1914, page 442.

can be adopted by a mere act of Congress without a constitutional amendment, a remedy that, it is contended, would strike a death-blow at our moneyed aristocracy yet would create scarcely a ripple on the calm surface of our business life. It is the inheritance tax.

To the objection that the remedy proposed would be an impairment of the rights of private property the advocates of the measure reply that the right to hold property and the right to inherit or bequeath property are entirely separate and distinct. Says Blackstone in his world-famous *Commentaries*: "Naturally speaking, the instant a man ceases to be, he ceases to have any dominion: else if he had a right to dispose of his acquisitions one moment beyond his life, he would also have a right to direct their disposal for a million ages after him: which would be highly absurd and inconvenient. All property, must, therefore, cease upon death, considering men as absolute individuals unconnected with civil society. . . . Wills, therefore, and testaments, rights of inheritance and succession, are all of them creatures of the civil or municipal laws, and accordingly are in all respects regulated by them." It is an error, he says, to suppose that "the son has by nature a right to succeed to his father's lands," or that an owner "is by nature entitled to direct the succession of his property after his own decease."

The idea of an inheritance tax, its advocates insist, is old enough to satisfy the most determined con-

servative. It was established in Rome at least as early as Augustus, having probably been borrowed from the Egyptians. In the Middle Ages it took the form of *reliefs*, *heriots* and similar payments exacted by feudal lords from the heirs of deceased tenants. To-day it is in use in Great Britain, France, Germany and most other European states, in New Zealand and elsewhere in Australasia and in more than three-fourths of the states of the American Union. It has thrice been employed by the federal government itself: in 1797, during the Civil War and during the Spanish-American War. And each time it has been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, which, in its latest decision on the subject (*Knowlton v. Moore*, 178 U. S. 41), held that the inheritance tax is not a tax on property but a tax on the right to receive property, and hence is not a direct tax subject to the constitutional limitations that killed the federal income tax law passed in 1894.

In most instances the tax, as thus far used, has been imposed primarily with a view to raising revenue, but the idea of the tax as a means of diffusing wealth is by no means new. Jeremy Bentham advocated it and, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, John Stuart Mill says: "It is not the fortunes which are earned, but those which are unearned, that it is for the public good to put under limitations. . . . I conceive that inheritances and legacies, exceeding a certain amount, are highly proper subjects for taxation: and that the revenue from them should be as

great as it can be made without giving rise to evasions." Many subsequent political economists have held similar views and the idea has been approved by such public men as Justice Brewer, Vice-President Marshall and Theodore Roosevelt.

The idea has even gained advocates among men of great wealth. Twenty years ago Mr. Andrew Carnegie wrote in a magazine article: "By taxing estates heavily at death the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life. It is desirable that nations should go much further in this direction. Indeed, it is difficult to set bounds to the share of a rich man's estate which should go at his death to the public through the agency of the state." And in his *Gospel of Wealth* he says: "There are exceptions to all rules, but not more exceptions, we think, to this than to rules generally, that the 'almighty dollar' bequeathed to children is an 'almighty curse.' . . . No man has a right to handicap his son with such a burden of great wealth."

Regarded merely from the revenue standpoint, the inheritance tax is one of the most satisfactory ever evolved. The cost of collection is exceedingly slight, collection being almost automatic. Furthermore, the tax, when properly buttressed with penalties, leaves little opportunity for evasion, being in this respect infinitely superior to the income tax, which is really a temptation to commit perjury. How much more satisfactory it is in this respect than the ordinary property taxes is well illustrated in the case of the

late Jay Gould, whose personal property (including railroad stocks, etc.), was assessed at half a million dollars during his life and was valued at one hundred and forty times that sum after his death. Every large estate almost of necessity passes through the courts for settlement and there is little possibility of concealment. Evasion, to be successful, must take place *inter vivos*, i. e., during the owner's life, for gifts *causa mortis* are made subject to the tax, evasions are prohibited under heavy penalties and it is usually easy to ascertain how a man became possessed of property, especially real property. The amount of money that an expatriated American could carry with him would also require limitation.

That there would be attempts at evading the tax by gifts *inter vivos* is not to be denied. An ancient Egyptian inscription chronicles the sale of a piece of property by an old man to his sons at a nominal price in order to evade an inheritance tax. Human nature has changed little in three thousand years. In the country to-day are not a few rich men who have craftily arranged to cheat inheritance taxes *in posse* or *in esse*.

To prevent such evasions it would be necessary to impose stringent regulations concerning gifts *inter vivos*. Happily the inclination to make such gifts in large amounts is not great. Most men wish to carry the bulk of their wealth until at least in sight of St. Peter. And, through sad experience, mankind has grown cautious of giving away property during

life, for an heir's affection has too often proved, like gratitude in the eyes of Doctor Johnson, a lively sense of benefits to come. Perhaps in time, as patriotism becomes more enlightened and man's responsibility to society at large is better understood, rich men might come to take pride in the amount of money they are able to leave to their country. "Nor need it be feared," says Mr. Carnegie, "that this policy will sap the root of enterprise and render men less anxious to accumulate, for, to the class whose ambition it is to leave great fortunes and be talked about after their death, it will attract even more attention, and, indeed, be a somewhat nobler ambition, to have enormous sums paid over to the State from their fortunes."

Advocates of the inheritance tax point out that it is a tax that can not be shifted as can tariff duties (old protectionist theories to the contrary notwithstanding), land taxes or excises. Hence it gives rise to no perplexing question of incidence. When an heir pays an inheritance tax there is no way whereby he can transfer the burden to the shoulders of some poor tenant or ultimate consumer.

Every year at least one-fortieth of the privately owned wealth of this country changes hands by inheritance or bequest. If all estates not exceeding ten thousand dollars in value be exempted, the proportion of privately owned wealth annually becoming subject to inheritance taxes in such a state as New York would be about one-fiftieth and in some states a somewhat lower figure. If the total wealth of the

United States is one hundred and fifty billions we can readily see that it would be possible to collect from inheritance taxes alone enough money to pay all the expenses of the federal government.

As to the justice of such a tax, its advocates ask: Why should a single person by the mere chance of birth be allowed to become the sole possessor of a fortune of fifty millions, the result in the main of social rather than of individual effort? When such a vast sum goes to very distant relatives—*lachende Erben* or laughing heirs, the Germans appropriately call them—the injustice becomes even more marked. Mill and other economists have even declared against collateral inheritance at all. "There is no good reason," says Mill, "why the accumulation of some childless miser, should, on his death (as every now and then happens), go to enrich a distant relative, who perhaps never knew himself to be related to him until there was something to be gained by it, and who had no moral claim upon him, more than the most entire stranger."

Advocates of the tax hold that the political organism should be a coheir to all great fortunes. Let the rich man be allowed to provide for his children in moderation, but let him not be allowed to transmit wealth in sums that will be a menace to the interests of society as well as a curse to the heir. The possession of property in reasonable amounts is eminently desirable; everything that tends to build up a well-to-do class deserves encouragement. We should not

fail to cherish that praiseworthy sentiment that has an affectionate regard for the welfare of those dear to and dependent on us, but it must not be done in such a way as to tolerate a concentration of wealth that discourages exertion and creates a class of drones who consume annually immense quantities of wealth and contribute little or nothing to the support of the race.

"For the sake of the sons of the rich, as well as for the sake of the sons of the poor," says Professor Ely, of Wisconsin University, "we need a reform of the laws of inheritance. A reform of the laws of inheritance of property will help us to approach that ideal condition in which the man who does not work shall not eat, and it will also tend to an equalization of opportunities so as to give all a fairer start in life."

The inheritance tax would, of course, be progressive and graduated. Small estates would be exempt, as would philanthropic bequests. The rates to widows and direct heirs would not be so high as to collateral heirs. The tax would be calculated upon the share received, not upon the estate as a whole. If, for example, an estate of \$100,000 should fall to one heir, a tax would be collected; if, however, it be equally divided among ten heirs or a still greater number it might well be allowed to go free, for the great aim of diffusion would be already gained. The amount of money that an heir could receive from an estate however large would be fixed by a progressive rate.

Professor Ely has declared that \$50,000 is as much as any one should be privileged to inherit. Such an amount at three per cent. interest over and above taxes would realize an income large enough to enable the recipient to live in reasonable comfort, though, of course, not in luxury. If he should feel that he must have the flesh-pots, he could do a part of the world's work and purchase them out of his reward. Probably such a radical law could not at first be enacted, but the Illinois Bar Association went on record some years ago as favoring the limitation of inheritances to \$500,000 to direct heirs and to \$100,000 in other cases. When the Underwood Tariff Bill was under discussion in 1913, Senator Norris moved as an amendment that seventy-five per cent. of all estates of over \$50,000,000 should go to the nation, and the proposal received the support of twelve senators, an "astonishing" thing, in the opinion of the *Springfield Republican*. In England the death duties rise beyond a quarter of some estates; and very high taxes, intended in part to diffuse wealth, are in use in the Swiss cantons, New Zealand and elsewhere.

Even such a tax as the one Professor Ely advocates would not be revolutionary, for it could be adopted without even the need of a constitutional amendment. It would be no more radical than the abolition of entails and primogeniture in Virginia in 1776 and its supporters believe that it would be fully as justifiable. Its opponents contend that it would tend to restrict capital and to change expendi-

ture and might more or less derange our economic system, but its advocates retort that it is entirely compatible with the existing social order, does not interfere with its normal and peaceful evolution and antagonizes no other line of progress.

Nor are they willing to admit that it would weaken the institution of private property. They insist that instead it would strengthen that institution, for it would remove one of the chief grievances which arouses antagonism to property—the glaring spectacle of some men, through no merit of their own, wealthy beyond man's computation, while other men have scarcely a crust of bread with which to appease their hunger and that of their little ones. By tending to diffuse property it would increase the number of persons interested in preserving property. The theory back of the tax is that property is desirable, so desirable that it ought not to be monopolized by a few—that the greater the proportion of people owning a moderate amount of property the happier the nation.

The advocates of the inheritance tax contend that multimillionaires are no more necessary than a royal family. In the tax they see the weapon ready to their hand—the shaft with which to pierce the Achilles heel of Plutocracy.

CHAPTER X

HOW CAN WE RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING

I

ABOUT a decade ago a well-known Socialist published a book in which he asserted that ten million Americans were in a more or less constant state of poverty. The book made a decided sensation and was violently attacked in certain quarters, one of the most frequent criticisms being that the estimate was much too high. But it was noticeable that no one of any information ventured to deny that there existed a very large class condemned, in the words of Carlyle, "to live miserably we know not why; to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be heart-worn, weary, yet isolated, unrelated, girt in with a cold universal Laissez-faire." Much hinged on the meaning of the word "poverty." Mr. Hunter applied it to the "underfed, underclothed, or badly housed," and did not restrict it merely to paupers, that is, to persons recipients of charitable relief. Using the word in this sense, he probably did not go much if any beyond the facts. Had he included the reasonably comfortable workers who make fair wages but lay by nothing for a rainy day he

could quite properly have made the number larger still. A week's illness of the breadwinner of such a family with consequent stoppage of pay will bring all the members over the line of "the ragged edge" into the camp of poverty.

To-day the number of the poor is certainly not smaller than it was when Mr. Hunter wrote; it is probably considerably larger. In other words, over ten per cent. of all Americans have a standard of living so low that they are economically inefficient, that the children are not properly clothed and fed, that they grow up starved in minds and bodies. The evil results of such a condition are so tremendous as to be almost beyond comprehension.

Each year Americans collectively create by their enterprise and labor a certain social income on which they must live, provided they do not draw on the savings of the past or mortgage those of the future. On the size of this income, the way in which it is distributed and the wisdom with which it is spent depends the American standard of living.

Now it is beyond question that the social income is already large enough to supply the necessities of life and some of the luxuries to every man, woman and child, if it were equally distributed. Few people, however, would advocate absolute equality of distribution, for thrift, energy and efficiency ought not to be placed on a par with prodigality, indolence and futility. But it is contrary to public policy that too much of the social income should be monopolized

by a few. How this is to be prevented has not yet been worked out, though the income tax and the inheritance tax are steps in that direction.

Is the social income of the American people wisely expended by those into whose hands it falls?

Hardly any one would answer "Yes" to this question. Everybody knows that vast sums of money are spent for needless luxuries and inutilities of various sorts. "Vulgar and ostentatious prodigality among the prosperous is matched by reckless improvidence among the poor." The nation, states, counties and cities vie with individuals in the mad race of extravagance. Space will not permit a consideration of the subject in all its ramifications, but let us see how much of our income is expended upon two forms of what the puritanically inclined are in the habit of designating as "vice," namely, liquor and tobacco.

The total consumption of malt liquors in the United States in 1911 was 1,966,911,744 gallons; of distilled liquors, 138,585,989; of wines, 63,859,232 gallons—an average of 22.79 gallons for each man, woman and child. The total cost to the consumers can not be exactly ascertained; but we know about how many glasses of beer, whisky or wine are usually sold out of a gallon of these beverages, and we know about the average price per glass so that the total sum can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy. If we place the amount at \$1,850,000,000 we shall probably err on the side of conservatism; in fact, a recent

magazine estimate makes the annual drink bill \$150,000,000 larger.

Some users of tobacco would resent the imputation that they are addicted to vice, but the custom since King James' *Counterblast* down to the present has been so to regard the habit, and assuredly in its grosser forms or when carried to excess in any form it is a vice in the dictionary sense of that word. However, we are concerned merely with the economic aspects of the habit, be it vice or otherwise. How much of our annual income is expended for tobacco? The author of an exhaustive monograph on the tobacco industry estimated that in 1905 we smoked about 7,000,000,000 cigars, costing about \$350,000,000; 3,000,000,000 cigarettes, costing about \$15,000,000; and consumed about 335,000,000 pounds of snuff, pipe tobacco and chewing tobacco, costing about \$135,000,000—a total of \$500,000,000. Since that time the consumption of tobacco has increased enormously. During the year ending June 30, 1913, smokers puffed into space 7,699,000,000 cigars and 14,276,000,000 cigarettes; while pipe smokers, chewers and snuff-takers made away with about 437,500,000 pounds of tobacco in forms adapted to their uses. It would hardly be going too far to say that the amount now expended does not fall short of six hundred and fifty million dollars annually.

That is to say, in a single year the drink and tobacco bills of the American people reaches a total of about twenty-five hundred millions of dollars. How

much is this sum? It is six hundred million dollars more than the amount of our gold and silver coinage, over twice the annual expenditure of the federal government; about two and one-half times the total interest-bearing national debt; almost twice the value of all the manufactures of iron and steel; and five times the total amount of money expended for education.

What does such an expenditure mean as regards the single individual, the single family? It means that the average expenditure per person, man, woman and child, throughout the United States for drink and tobacco is about twenty-nine dollars, that is, about one hundred and thirty dollars for the average family of four and one-half persons. But since a large majority of Americans, including women and children, do not use either tobacco or liquor, the cost falls with increased weight on those who do. Are they, as a rule, the members best able financially to bear the burden? The number of persons of means who drink liquor or use tobacco is very large, of course; and as such persons commonly use high-grade articles, they spend much more than the average. Says a writer: "The wage-earner who smokes three five-cent cigars and drinks half a dozen glasses of beer during the day and evening spends one hundred and sixty-four dollars a year—more than a quarter of the average earnings of the highly paid American working man. The salaried man who consumes half a dozen Havana Perfectos and a box of cigarettes, drinks ten whiskies, cocktails, or highballs, and has a bottle of wine with

his dinner, probably spends two thousand dollars a year. A very frugal working man might spend as little as fifty dollars a year, while a *bon vivant* could easily spend ten thousand dollars."

This much is certain, that the average wage-earner who is in the habit of using either of these "creature comforts" expends far more than he can afford, and that the amount thus expended often represents the margin between fairly comfortable living and bare subsistence. What a pitiable story of sordid selfishness, of bitter deprivation from wives and children many of the dimes and nickels which pass over the bar or into the till of the tobacconist could tell! It is not only the slaves themselves who are offered up on the altars of habit, but the innocent also.

The simple truth is that a great deal of poverty is due to foolish expenditures rather than to low wages. We are too much prone these days to lay all the blame on the shoulders of the employers or Big Business. The worker himself is often most to blame. To many higher wages would merely mean increased expenditures for inutilities, as a classic example in English history plainly shows. In one period of three years in the seventies wages in that country increased \$200,000,000, and the drink bill increased precisely as much.

"But," says a criticism-scenting defender of the two traffics, "the liquor and tobacco businesses are among the great industries of the country. They furnish a livelihood to a great army of people." That

is quite true. Probably a million or more men earn their daily bread in the two trades or some phase of industry connected with them. Farmers by the thousand raise the barley, the corn, the hops, the rye, the grapes, the peaches, the tobacco, the other raw materials. "Three hundred thousand workers are employed in breweries, distilleries, malt-houses, wineries, cooperage-works, and bottle-works; and in cigar, cigarette, and tobacco factories, cigar-box factories, and pipe factories. In the quarter of a million places where liquors are sold there are at work seven hundred thousand innkeepers, bartenders, waiters, and others; while in the six hundred thousand places where tobacco is sold is another army of men whose time is wholly or partly given up to the trade. Thousands of other workers give part of their time in related industries assisting in the production and sale of alcohol and tobacco products."

What would be the result if the two industries were to be destroyed? There would be temporary suffering on the part of many. But in time the energy and capital would go into the production of food, clothing, houses and various other forms of social utilities and inutilities.

Is there any likelihood of such elimination? Is there any considerable number of Americans who deplore the fact that five times as much money is expended for tobacco and liquor as for education, that the average expenditure per family for these articles is one hundred and thirty dollars per year? As re-

gards tobacco we can answer in a few words. In general, "No." The tobacco industry seemingly was never more firmly established and the prejudice against it was never less effective. There are many persons, of course, who neither smoke, chew nor take snuff; some who regard one or all of these habits as filthy and deplorable; but there exists no crusade worth mentioning to abolish the use of tobacco *in toto*, and the only serious efforts at legislation are designed either to regulate the industry from the purely economic standpoint or to safeguard youth.

With the liquor traffic it is otherwise. Wealthy and immensely powerful as are the interests engaged in that traffic, they are constantly engaged in a never-ending fight for life against most determined, persistent and relentless enemies. Why is this difference? It is simply because the demoralizing influences of the liquor traffic are regarded as infinitely the more serious. The tobacco habit is generally looked on rather indulgently, as a vice which is extravagant and which may occasionally cause some disease and physical suffering but which leads to few great excesses or moral lapses; whereas millions of Americans are absolutely convinced that the liquor traffic is one of the chief causes of disease, crime, pauperism, the social evil and virtually every other evil which can afflict the sons and daughters of men. And hence the far-flung conflict, skirmishes here, pitched battles there—warfare always.

If a visitor to New York City will walk up any one of several avenues, taking care to observe its average

of four saloons to the block, he will begin to doubt whether the alleged prohibition movement is not a myth. If he studies the statistics of the liquor trade collected by the government he will notice that the average per capita consumption of drink has increased from about 4.17 gallons in 1840 to 22.79* gallons in 1911, and he will be confirmed in his impression. But if he chances to go into Kansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia or any one of the numerous other prohibition states and attempts to buy a glass of beer he will have his ideas reconstructed in short order.

The fact is that fourteen of the states have prohibition throughout, that two-thirds of the whole area of the country and half the population are under no license, that gradually the area of "dry territory" grows larger and that of "wet territory" more restricted. The liquor interests claim that "prohibition does not prohibit," but for some reason whenever a prohibitory bill is under consideration by a legislature lobbyists representing breweries and distilleries swarm thither in great numbers. As a matter of fact, testimony taken in 1910 by the Interstate Commerce Commission seemed to show that about 20,000,000 gallons of liquors of various kinds were annually shipped by ex-

* The increase is almost wholly due to increased consumption of malt liquors, from 1.36 gallons to 20.66 gallons. The consumption of distilled liquors fell off almost one-half, from 2.52 gallons to 1.46 gallons; while that of wines increased from twenty-nine hundredths of a gallon to sixty-seven hundredths of a gallon.

press to consumers in the prohibition states. But as the population of these states was 15,602,935, this would indicate a consumption of less than one and a quarter gallons per person, as against the general average of 21.86 gallons that year for the country at large. Perhaps these figures throw some light on the reason for the lobby.

An important step toward making prohibitory laws more easily enforceable was taken in 1913 in the passage over President Taft's veto of the Webb Bill dealing with the interstate shipment of liquor. Under the "original package" decisions of the Supreme Court it had been possible to send liquor into prohibition states in direct defiance of the laws of those states, with the result that the stamping out of "boot-legging" and "blind tigers" was rendered infinitely more difficult. The act was not so drastic as many prohibitionists desired, but it forbade the shipment of liquor in violation of a state law and hence put the regulation of the interstate liquor traffic practically into the hands of the states. It was passed, of course, over the violent protests of the liquor interests.

Many influences have combined to give the prohibitory movement its present strength. First, of course, there is the moral motive, which is often carried to the extreme of believing that to drink a glass of wine or beer or even to eat a plum-pudding flavored with brandy is a deadly sin. Then there is what may be called the "efficiency motive" on the part of employers, who have discovered that the use of liquor on

the part of their employees results in industrial accidents and poor and irregular work. The number of employers who refuse to engage known drinkers is rapidly increasing every year. In the South one of the great factors has been a desire on the part of the ruling race to keep intoxicants out of the hands of the negroes, for bitter experience has shown that drink is responsible for many brutal crimes and outrages that otherwise would never have occurred. A similar desire to safeguard the wage-earning class in the North is responsible for the attitude of some persons by no means fanatics on the subject. More selfish is the attitude of shrewd merchants and business men who have come to see that, with the saloons driven out, the money which hitherto went over the bar will now come into their own tills. Not all business men, it is true, are keen enough to see this obvious fact, and saloon forces still find it worth while now and then to raise the cry that "a dry town means a 'dead' town." The truth is that advocacy of prohibition is no longer confined to non-drinkers, and this fact is perhaps the most significant in the whole situation. Many a temperate man who is not a teetotaler, to whom drinking is a mere luxury and in no sense a danger, has begun to reason thus: "Liquor doesn't hurt me, but it does seem to hurt and ruin a great many other people. What was it Paul said about 'If meat my brother offend'?" And when a man gets into this mood he usually votes "dry."

Hitherto the liquor interests have been powerful

enough to prevent any great party making the prohibition question a political issue, but a new danger is now looming up before them. In many states the device known as the initiative is being adopted, whereby a measure may become a law by direct vote of the people. By means of this device the anti-saloon forces will be able to make a direct issue and secure a state-wide vote on the question: "Are you against the saloon and all it means?" And who can doubt that in many states that are still "wet" a majority of the voters, especially if the women have the suffrage, will vote "Yes"?

The liquor power is, however, strongly entrenched, and unless national action should be secured by federal amendment, it is almost inconceivable that within our own times such states as New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, containing a large foreign-born population addicted to the use of intoxicants from infancy onward, will enter the "dry" column.

But many signs indicate that in other states the final result is merely a matter of a few years. The appeal to "personal liberty" is still potent with some voters, and the cry that the destruction of the liquor traffic would cause higher taxes gives pause to others; but a great many are coming to believe that the added criminal and pauper expenses caused by drink outweigh the money brought in by licenses and excises, and that the price asked for "personal liberty" is too high. They believe it would be infinitely better to spend the \$1,850,000,000 which now annually goes

for drink for more food, clothes, shoes and books, and other real utilities, and thereby improve our standard of living—especially in quarters where it most needs improvement.*

II

It is said that one of our richest Americans is accustomed to save the twine with which bundles that come to him are tied up and that another, now dead, was in the habit of tearing off blank sheets from his correspondence for memorandum use. Thoughtless persons smile at such "closeness" as though it were a thing to be ashamed of, and yet when the trait is analyzed it is seen to be really most laudable. The millionaires in question doubtless early realized that society has just so much social income and that on the manner in which it is conserved and expended must depend our standard of living. It is an idea that few Americans have taken sufficiently to heart. Wastefulness is a national trait and by no means a commendable one. A hundred examples could be cited, but one must suffice. A prosperous citizen and his family, living in a large house on a fashionable avenue, go out for the evening leaving every room ablaze with electric light. "But what of that?" the citizen will ask in wonder. "I can afford it. It concerns no one but myself." Does it? Every added light means

* War is another great social waste. It has been estimated that about seventy per cent. of the income of the national government is expended in preparation for war or to meet liabilities incurred in past wars.

so much electricity used, so much coal consumed, so much added wear and tear of machinery. And society at large is just that much the poorer. Not a great deal, to be sure, but many mickles make a muckle.

But it is not the American way to search for means of preventing expenditure but to try to find more money to spend. How can we increase our social income and thereby raise our standard of living in this way?

Talk of efficiency is fashionable these days. There is hardly a trade or an industry in which men are not eagerly seeking ways of making business more productive. Factory managers are studying processes and methods of organization as never before; correspondence schools offer courses purporting to increase creative power; books and magazines praise the merits of various methods; a college professor has even written a ponderous volume on *Psychology and Efficiency*. Undoubtedly at least some modicum of good will result from all this agitation and furor.

There are a thousand ways in which production can be increased, but it is probable that the greatest opportunity just now for assisting society in a material sense is to discover ways of building shorter roads between producer and consumer. As we shall see later, the accomplishment of this object will do much toward increasing production as well as toward lowering the cost of goods already produced.

The roads now in use are almost invariably long

and crooked, and the cost of transporting goods over them is excessively high. An investigation made in Philadelphia in 1912 of comparative prices received for certain kinds of food by producers and those paid by consumers showed that the excess paid by the latter ranged from sixty-seven to two hundred and sixty-six per cent., the average being one hundred and thirty-six per cent. A more recent investigation made in New York City by an association for improving the condition of the poor showed that about thirty-nine cents out of each dollar paid for food goes for distributing and selling the food after it reaches the city and before it arrives in the consumer's kitchen. In addition, a heavy toll is exacted by transportation companies and other agencies for bringing the food to the city. The dairyman sells a bottle of milk for three cents, and the milk company sells it for ten cents, an increase of over three hundred per cent. The grape grower may receive seven cents per basket for grapes, and the retailer may sell them at forty cents, an increase of almost six hundred per cent. Nor are such conditions confined to any one city or locality. Potatoes may sell for thirty cents per bushel at a station in Waupaca County, Wisconsin, and for eighty-five cents in Milwaukee, though the cost of transportation is only six and one-half cents. Cabbage may bring only eighty-three dollars per ton in River Falls and be selling for three hundred dollars per ton in Chicago, though the freight rate is only three dollars per ton. And so it goes through the whole gamut of

articles, from cucumbers to cutlery, from millinery to motor-cars. Estimates prepared by the Department of Agriculture show that, taking the country over, not more than fifty cents of each dollar goes to the producer and that the other fifty cents represent the costs and profits of distribution. In other words, the distribution of the nation's food supply costs as much as does production.

Yet the actual profits of distribution are by no means so great as is often supposed. It is a matter of common observation that many shopkeepers, grocery-keepers, butchers and pedlers do not grow rich but make merely a living. The truth is that the machinery of distribution is so cumbersome and inefficient as to render great profits impossible save in exceptional cases. Undoubtedly the price which distribution costs us could be made to yield a perfectly enormous profit if the task were profitably organized. But it is not, and, paradoxical as it may seem, the secret is that in distribution there is too much competition and too little combination. What combination there is consists largely in the matter of fixing prices rather than in cooperation in the task of getting distribution economically done. There are too many commission men, too many storekeepers, too many milk dealers, too many druggists, too many of the whole tribe.

The economic waste of such competition is beyond computation. A score of grocers' wagons go each day to a single apartment-house when one would

answer. And for every unnecessary delivery-man, horse and wagon, the consumers pay—pay what would be saved under other conditions. It has been estimated that two hundred great food stores instead of twenty thousand in New York City would effect a saving of \$60,000,000 a year. Consider, for example, the immense saving in time and energy that results from the concentration of the postal business under one management. Suppose that instead of one there were six companies engaged in the business. In every city there would be six main post-offices instead of one. Six mail carriers instead of one would pass along each street every time mail was delivered. The United States does not find it necessary to advertise its postal service or its postage stamps, but each of the six companies would be compelled in self-defense to spend millions of dollars yearly in keeping its advantages before the public. Such a state of affairs is unthinkable, and yet a situation in many respects similar actually exists in the sale of such articles as bread, milk and meat.

What is known as "getting the market" is under the competitive system enormously expensive. Automobile manufacturers will tell you that the cost of selling a car is often equal to the cost of making it. A watch salesman once showed me the works of a certain watch and said: "It costs the manufacturer fifty-nine cents to make that works. The works sell at five dollars and fifty cents. The difference represents profits and the cost of distribution."

In "getting the market" most industries employ large numbers of travelers, "the standing army of commerce," as well as make use of advertising. The greater the competition in a given industry the greater must be the number of traveling men. Combination usually lowers the cost of advertising and diminishes the number of travelers. The Standard Oil Company finds it unnecessary to advertise extensively, and so does the Sugar Trust. When the British soap combine was formed, the *Daily Mail* objected because it would mean a loss to newspapers in advertising of two hundred thousand pounds sterling annually; another estimate placed the loss at nearer five hundred thousand pounds. A dozen years or so ago the president of the Commercial Travelers' Association testified before the Industrial Commission that the trust movement had resulted in thirty-five thousand salesmen being thrown out of employment and in the reduction of the salaries of twenty-five thousand more. These men had been paid by industry and society. An advertisement, a bill poster or a traveling man does not create another pound of food to eat or another yard of cloth to wear.

The great profits of certain mail-order houses, department stores and chain stores are due largely to the fact that they have built better roads between producer and consumer than those used by their smaller competitors and have thus eliminated some of the wastes of distribution. The outcry which one hears occasionally against such enterprises is based on a

wrong conception of society's interests. Such enterprises, being efficient, deserve to survive; and it will ultimately be to the advantage of society if they, or other efficient distributive agencies, drive many small competitors out of business into other lines of work.

The middlemen who at present perform the task of distribution are engaged in a perfectly legitimate, necessary and honorable function. The trouble is that they do not perform it in an efficient and economical way. Nor does the regrettable part of it lie wholly in the fact that consumers are thereby forced to pay unduly high prices. A vast amount of needless energy is used that ought to be employed in production, in the creation of more goods for society to use and enjoy. It is obvious that somebody else must raise the food and make the clothes eaten and worn by men who are engaged in distribution, and that if more men are employed in the distributive process than is really necessary the possible social income is proportionately diminished. A reorganization which would result in the transference of some hundreds of thousands of persons, representing, with those dependent upon them, probably two or three million people, from the field of distribution to that of actual production would benefit the country enormously.

It is a commonplace that consumers themselves are largely to blame for the heavy tax they pay the middleman. Practically no apartment-houses and comparatively few city houses have any adequate place for storing provisions, and the result is that city dwell-

ers live a hand-to-mouth existence, buying in infinitesimal quantities and paying high prices accordingly. And, of course, the goods must be delivered; add ten to fifteen per cent. for cost of delivery wagons, teams and drivers. Many housewives are not even considerate enough to send in the day's bill all at once, but telephone at intervals throughout the day. And if they order only a can of peaches or a paper of pins they expect it to be delivered. Furthermore, they must have much of their food done up in fancy packages; add ten to one hundred per cent. And so it goes through the whole gamut, the result being that the consumer pays for all. He grumbles, but he pays.

Let us study more in detail the situation as regards food products in a single city which, unlike New York and Philadelphia, lies in the very lap of the food belt. Indianapolis is a city of about two hundred and seventy-five thousand inhabitants and the country immediately round it is very fertile and productive, yet retail prices are often enormously high. Even when the commission man is paying the producer such low prices that it is hardly worth while to draw the stuff to market the consumer may be paying high prices for the minute quantities he buys. In no other article is this more likely to be true than in the matter of fruit. It has been no uncommon thing for orchardists to consign carloads of apples to commission men and to receive in return hardly enough to pay expenses of transportation, and yet in some mysterious way apples of the same quality would be

selling at retail as high as a dollar and twenty-five cents or a dollar and fifty cents a bushel. The fact was that the commission men were playing both ends for the benefit of the middle—themselves.

And, just as elsewhere, the consumers are largely to blame. There is a municipal market, a part of which—that within walls—is devoted to permanent stands, the keepers of which are almost invariably non-producers; but to the streets outside farmers and market gardeners bring great quantities of produce of various kinds. Here is a really exceptional chance for consumer to deal directly with producer, and yet far too little of such dealing is done. Great numbers of would-be purchasers pass the producers by and go into the market-house, where they buy of middlemen at prices often double what they would pay outside. It seems incredible, yet it is true. One reason is that they buy in smaller quantities than the producers like to sell, and another is that they often insist that the stuff shall be delivered, which the producer can rarely do. And thus they play directly into the hands of the middlemen. The farmers, being unable to sell to the consumer direct, must dispose of his products to the stand-keepers. And again the consumer pays an unnecessary toll.

One fall an orchardist who lived just outside the city decided to try an experiment in direct selling. He drew up a scale of prices about twenty cents per bushel higher than he had been receiving at wholesale and about forty to sixty cents lower than retail prices

and advertised that at these prices he would deliver certain standard varieties of apples in lots of not less than three bushels. The advertisement was displayed prominently in the leading paper, and was doubtless seen by thousands of people, and yet at the end of ten days the orders received from consumers totaled just twenty-nine bushels! From wholesalers, however, came a run of offers to buy—at reduced rates. Well, the producer filled the orders for the twenty-nine bushels, and then the unexpected happened. The apples were exceptionally fine both in appearance and quality, and persons who had bought were much pleased with them. Some of them hastened to order more, and most advised their friends to order, with the result that presently the orchardist received more orders than he could fill.

The explanation is simple. Doubtless many of those who saw the advertisement would have liked to order and would have had sufficient enterprise to do so, but they had no assurance that the apples would be as represented. Unscrupulous dealers from the country or pretending to be from the country have so often taken advantage of confiding consumers and sold them rancid butter, or glucose maple sirup, or chickens of the hatched-from-a-golf-ball variety, that consumers have lost their pristine faith in human nature and prefer to buy at a higher price from firms concerning whose responsibility they are informed. Thus it is that crooked farmers, and crooked pedlers pretending to be producers, are the worst enemies of more direct

relations between producers and consumers. Strict pure food laws and legislation establishing definite standards for given articles would undoubtedly be helpful in creating confidence. As it is now, the consumer hardly dares buy from a "farmer" unless he personally knows him. And even then he sometimes makes a mistake.

The high prices of certain foodstuffs in Indianapolis became such in 1911 that Mayor Lew Shank entered on a campaign against the middleman. Potatoes, a main staff of life to the poor, were selling at wholesale at about one dollar and ten cents a bushel and at about one dollar and forty or one dollar and fifty cents a bushel at retail; and, as the potato crop of the country was large, it was evident that somebody was reaping a rich harvest of profit. The fact was that the middlemen were keeping up prices by limiting the supply allowed to enter the city. With money secretly furnished by the *Indianapolis News* Mr. Shank, who was by profession an auctioneer, bought several carloads of potatoes outside the state and sold them in the market-house at seventy-five cents per bushel, a thing he was able to do because he took no profit, paid no rent, and had practically no expenses to meet except the cost and transportation of the potatoes. Later he repeated the experiment on a smaller scale with poultry. The price of potatoes was temporarily broken and, though the ultimate effects on the market were negligible, the experiment brought home the need

of better methods of getting goods from the producer to the consumer.

Some great manufacturing firms have found it to their advantage to sell directly to the consumer. A notable instance in point is the William L. Douglas Shoe Company of Brockton, Massachusetts. This company, whose head was for a term the governor of his state, has six factories with a combined capacity of twenty thousand pairs of shoes per day, about half of which are sold through a chain of seventy-eight retail stores in the large cities of the country. It is the company's claim that, "The distribution of our product direct from factory to wearer through our own stores and direct from factory to wearer through the medium of a retail shoe dealer eliminates the middlemen's profit which we add to the value of the shoe and thus give the consumer a better shoe than he can obtain where the manufacturer's, jobber's and retailer's profits have to be included before the shoes reach him."

It would seem probable that in course of time the Douglas plan or some similar plan will be followed by many other producers. It was one of the hopes of advocates of the parcel-post that it would furnish a means for developing direct dealings between producer and consumer. It is assuredly a great boon to the mail-order houses, which succeed because they serve their patrons at cheaper rates than do the ordinary retailers, nor does there seem to be any good reason why producers, and especially producers of standard-

ized goods of comparatively light weight, should not dispose of their product in this manner. In fact a movement in that direction has already begun, and it is safe to say that it will ultimately attain enormous proportions.

III

Municipal markets, charity stores, standardizing the dollar, closer inspection of weights and measures, regulation of middlemen, are some of the methods advocated for benefiting the consumer and lowering the cost of living, and it is probable that most or all of these can be made to help ameliorate conditions; but, when all is said and done, probably the most promising idea is that connected with the word cooperation. The cooperative plan is not a new one in the United States, yet it has not been developed to such an extent as in some other countries. England has been the main pioneer in the movement. In that country men combined in trades unions to secure higher wages, but they often found, as workmen in the United States are constantly finding, that increased prices kept pace with increased wages or even outran them. It was natural, therefore, that such people should try to evolve ways of getting the most possible for their money.

The outcome was the cooperative store, the central idea in which is an association managing a retail enterprise which sells goods to members at the lowest possible cost. Experience showed that such a store when efficiently managed could sell much cheaper than

did the ordinary retailer. But the middlemen soon discovered the saving and, on the theory that the associations could stand it, raised their prices high enough to absorb all the saving. Had the cooperationists lacked initiative and vision, their experiment would have ended here; but, being men of spirit with heads on their shoulders, they retorted by forming a national wholesale society of their own and began to deal directly with producers. The middlemen then formed a traders' protective association, the purpose of which was to force producers to boycott the wholesale society. But their success was only partial and, in order to supply articles which they found it difficult to obtain, the wholesale society themselves turned producers; to-day they have several large manufacturing establishments employing thousands of workmen. Thus the combination has several aspects: it is a league of consumers; it acts as a middleman; and it is also a producer; but all of its activities are directed toward benefiting its members as consumers. The total number of members of cooperative associations in England is about three million, representing a total of probably twelve million people. The associations own property worth about \$275,000,000 and do an annual business of about \$500,000,000 a year. One of the British associations, the Army and Navy Co-operative Society, Limited, of London, is famous the world over for the quality of the goods sold, and it is no uncommon thing for travelers or explorers to seek

the privilege of purchasing their outfits from the society.

But cooperation is by no means confined to England. Scotland has a great wholesale society which does a business of \$50,000,000 yearly. Its head for thirty years has been William Maxwell, who has served more for love of the cause than for money, having never asked remuneration greater than thirty-eight dollars per week. Ireland has a wide-spread system of cooperative dairies and a system of joint buying, largely the work of the noble-hearted Horace Plunkett. Mr. Plunkett carried through the plan against great obstacles. It was difficult to interest the Irish peasants in such an enterprise, and he labored under the handicap of being absolutely one of the poorest speakers in the world. I once heard him say before a notable gathering in New York: "I made fifty-nine speeches before I got a single result"; and there was probably not a person present who, having listened for three-quarters of an hour to his halting words, did not wonder: "How did he ever manage to do it on the sixtieth?" But he did, and the present prosperity of Ireland, the greatest probably for centuries, is in no small measure due to him.

Cooperation has transformed Denmark, and the Danish farmer gets for his products about ninety per cent. of what the consumer pays for them.

In Germany the cooperative idea has been applied to banking, and two great systems have been brought

into being, the Raiffeisen and the Schulze-Delitzsch, the former primarily for farmers and the latter for town dwellers, though many farmers belong to it. Each system has a great number of members, but their subscriptions are small, the average of Raiffeisen members being less than five dollars. In 1909 the Raiffeisen banks did a total business of \$1,557,293,-580, consisting of both long and short term advances to members at low rates. Over eighty-eight per cent. of the money was furnished by the farmers themselves. The business of the Schulze-Delitzsch banks for the same year was \$3,231,801,035. Germany also has two great cooperative unions, and with one or the other of these unions the popular banks are affiliated. The General Union has two hundred and ninety consumers' societies conducting cooperative stores, of which two hundred and seventy-three sold goods in 1911 to the value of \$17,715,000. In the same year the Central Union had 1,103 consumers' societies, with 1,171,763 members, and did a business of \$73,050,000. Nearly \$13,000,000 worth of the goods thus sold were manufactured by the society itself.

At present there are, in fact, about twenty national wholesale societies in as many countries. An International Cooperative Alliance has been formed, and international cooperative congresses have been held representing 50,000,000 consumers. Plainly the movement is no longer an experiment but an established, successful reality.

Until recently the history of cooperation in the

United States has been less encouraging than it has been abroad. Efforts in that direction have been numerous, particularly among farmers, who experimented with it years ago in their granges and such organizations as the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, but as a rule such experiments until recently have been disappointing. Perhaps the most successful form of cooperation in America is that which has developed in certain college communities. Such societies usually confine themselves chiefly to books, stationery, athletic goods, etc.; but the Harvard Cooperative Society affords an example of a long established organization which has developed into an agency serving members in very diverse ways. During the year ending July 31, 1912, it did a total business of \$393,000.

Recently the cooperative movement in America has received a great impetus, and at present even the federal government, as a result of a recommendation by the Country Life Commission, conducts a bureau specially devoted to the study and development of cooperative buying and selling among farmers. A great national conference to consider ways and means of bringing cooperation about was held at Chicago in April, 1913, and will probably become permanent. Enthusiasts would have the farmer market his crops cooperatively, buy his supplies in the same manner and borrow money from his own cooperative credit societies.

Probably the best-known cooperative association in the United States is one that is made up of producers

—the California Fruit Growers' Exchange. The citrus fruit industry, which this exchange serves, is one which requires careful marketing and distribution of the fruit in order to secure good results for the growers. The exchange, which is about twenty years old, includes sixty-five per cent. of the citrus fruit growers of California. In form it is a sort of federation, consisting of one hundred and fifteen local associations, which are organized into seventeen district exchanges, with the central exchange at the head of all. The local associations, which have a membership of from forty to two hundred, usually own packing-houses where the fruit is assembled, graded, pooled, packed and otherwise prepared for shipment. Some associations also pick the fruit or even prune and fumigate the trees of the individual members. The associations have brands for each grade of fruit and when a carload is ready for shipment it is marketed in cooperation with the district exchange through the agents of the general exchange. The district exchange acts as a clearing-house in marketing the fruit, as a medium through which the general exchange reaches the locals and it orders cars and sees that they are properly placed. The central exchange has bonded agents in the principal fruit markets of the United States and Canada and gathers daily information as to the state of the market. It develops new markets, conducts extensive advertising campaigns, handles all claims and pays its expenses by levying an assessment against each district on a

basis of the number of boxes shipped. The general exchange does not, however, buy or sell fruit, nor does it fix the prices at which fruit shall be sold, but merely furnishes facilities and information for the use of its members. The information furnished by the general exchange seems to be pretty closely followed, with the result that the fruit is well distributed and congestion of supply is prevented. Primarily the purpose of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange is to sell its fruit, but incidentally it also buys supplies cooperatively.

Many other cooperative associations for the sale of fruit, cattle, horses, seed-corn, grain, butter, eggs, potatoes, rice, cotton, etc., have been formed in various parts of the United States and are meeting with greater or less success. According to statistics published in 1911 cooperative associations in the grain states then owned about 1,600 elevators, ranging in value from \$4,000 to \$10,000, and each elevator annually markets an average of about 150,000 bushels of grain. Cooperative creamery associations in the same region controlled the output of about 2,000 creameries. Of all the states, Wisconsin is probably the most advanced in the matter of cooperation and the state authorities have done much to promote the idea.

Generally speaking, associations organized primarily for purposes of marketing the products of members seem to have outrun those formed by consumers. As in the case of the Fruit Growers' Exchange, however, most such associations also engage in the co-

operative purchase of supplies for the benefit of members, and some even manufacture such articles as fertilizer, box materials and lumber.

Associations in which the cooperative purchase idea is foremost are developing rapidly. The Right Relationship League of Minneapolis had in 1913 about one hundred and forty league stores, mostly in the Dakotas, Minnesota and Wisconsin, with about 11,200 members, and a total capital of \$1,500,000. Its sales amounted to about \$6,000,000 a year. The Consumers' Cooperative Company of Boston, the Cooperative League of New York and the American Cooperative Alliance of Northern New Jersey are examples of other active associations. Railway men, postal clerks and other workers are forming organizations. There is good reason to believe that within a comparatively short time the movement will attain as great importance as it has done in England and Germany.

There are two main plans of selling supplies to members of a cooperative association. Under one the goods are sold at cost plus a percentage which it is estimated will suffice to cover expenses. Under the other plan the prevailing retail price is charged, but at the end of the year a dividend is declared among the members in proportion to the amount of each one's trade. There is also a combination of the two plans, that is, some reduction is allowed when the purchase is made and later a dividend is paid. In general, the second plan seems the more desirable. It prevents

price cutting by local dealers, is less likely to result in trouble with wholesalers and it enables the members to form a better idea as to the benefits they derive from cooperation.

Cooperation is not confined to producers and consumers in the ordinary sense of these terms. There are cooperative building and loan associations, cooperative irrigation enterprises, cooperative telephone companies, cooperative banks and cooperative insurance companies. The field of cooperative insurance is already well developed and is one that lends itself remarkably well to such enterprise. The author is himself a member of a local cooperative fire and lightning insurance company which has been in existence for almost thirty years. It does business in four townships; its membership, mostly farmers, numbers four hundred and twenty-one, and the total insurance written is \$615,300. The average rate of stock companies on similar risks is about forty cents on the hundred dollars, but this company's highest rate has been forty cents only twice, while its lowest rate was ten cents and the average has been fifteen and one-half cents. Its annual running expenses, exclusive of losses, is only about three hundred and fifty dollars. During the years it has been in existence it has saved the community many thousands of dollars. In 1911 there were about fifteen hundred similar companies in the United States.

Cooperative credit unions have been formed in Massachusetts and in a few other states, particularly

among Hebrew farmers, but the movement is still in its infancy. Undoubtedly conditions exist in the United States that would seem to make some such development of this form of cooperation eminently desirable. In 1912 the total indebtedness of American farmers was \$8,400,000,000, on which the average rate of interest was eight and one-half per cent. When we bear in mind that farm loans secured by mortgage are among the safest forms of investment that it is possible to find, it is evident that such a rate is extortionate. In consequence the subject has become a live issue. The Sixty-second Congress authorized the President to investigate the subject of cooperative banking as conducted abroad and much interesting information was collected by diplomatic and consular representatives. All three of the leading political parties referred to the subject in their platforms of 1912 and it seems certain that some interesting and important developments in the near future are assured.

Cooperation seems to promise a short road between producer and consumer, but before it can be widely established many obstacles must be overcome. Not the least of these obstacles is the individualistic and independent character of the people who must form such organizations, if they are to be formed. Farmers, for example, are slow to accept new ideas; they are apt to be jealous and suspicious of one another; and too often they are narrow in their views as to how an enterprise in which they are interested should be conducted.

It is the almost universal testimony of those who have studied cooperation in the United States that many organizations, both of the producer and the consumer type, have been wrecked by the unwillingness of the members to pay the manager a salary large enough to secure the services of a man of real business ability. And, of course, any organization which ignores this or any other fundamental principle is doomed to early failure.*

It seems likely that as associations of consumers develop they will find it desirable to produce some of their goods, as is now being done in England and elsewhere, but it is impossible to prognosticate the future of cooperative enterprise directed primarily to manufacturing. A generation ago enthusiasts thought they foresaw a great future before the self-governing workshops and hoped that such cooperation would go far toward solving many of the great social and economic problems. At one time there were, for example, numerous cooperative cooperage shops in Minneapolis and St. Paul, furnishing barrels to the flour-mills, but few such shops now exist either at home or abroad. Yet it is possible that with added knowledge of the essential principles of cooperation such a system of industry might succeed and develop wonderfully.

In commenting on the visit to England of the American Commission on Agricultural Organization,

* For a good exposition of fundamentals see G. H. Powell, *Co-operation in Agriculture*, Chapter II.

a keen-visioned Englishman, George Russell, used these pregnant words: "But what America has never discovered is the fundamental idea that should be applied to the organization of society. Hitherto individualism has run riot in economics. Every man has been for himself. Everybody has been so Americanly independent and high-spirited that America may be said to be the country of personalities par excellence. Its civilization has been individualistic. It exulted in being the country of free men. The individual was allowed the greatest possible freedom to develop, and as a natural result the most powerful personalities in industry have secured control over a great part of the wealth of the United States. It has been stated that some fifty men between them control three-quarters of its industrial activities. No nation can dispense with organization in its social and economic life, and if the people are not already inspired by some ideal to which all voluntary effort tends, then the organization of industry will be imposed on them from above by the great captains of finance, and for a quarter of a century we have heard rumors in Europe of discontent in America with the operation of their great industrial organizations or trusts. The workers in agriculture have suffered as much as any people from the lack of democratic organization of production, distribution, and finance controlled by the farmers, and agriculture is the greatest of human industries, the foundation of na-

tional wealth, and America has come to realize that in this respect the Old World is far ahead of it."

If Americans desire to attain a higher standard of material well-being, they must learn to expend their social income less prodigally and to better purpose. They must strive for greater efficiency and find ways of eliminating the tremendous waste of energy now resulting from their needlessly complicated and ineffective system of distribution. And it seems probable that this last result can best be attained through increased social cooperation.

We can not, however, expect any general improvement in our standard of living if we continue our present policy of practically unrestricted immigration. Our comparatively high standard in the past has been due, first of all, to almost virgin resources and the consequent large product that could be created by a given amount of labor. But the country has already become thickly enough populated in comparison with our natural resources for us to have passed beyond the boundary line of diminishing returns, and every added immigrant means a sinking toward the standards that obtain in the congested countries of Europe.

CHAPTER XI

OUR CHANGING INSTITUTIONS

I

MANY Americans who utterly repudiate the Socialist plan readily admit that our institutions need improvement. They realize that perfection is hardly possible in human affairs, that no social or political Utopia has ever yet existed except in the fancy of philosophers, that few nations have attained so high a state of general well-being as the United States now enjoys under our present system, but they insist that this does not warrant us in folding our hands and failing to press forward toward a higher ideal.

The most searching criticisms of American institutions are from an evolutionary view-point and touch even the fundamental law itself. The Constitution, the critics assert, was framed in the eighteenth century for a nation having a population less than that now comprised within the limits of our greatest city, for a decentralized society chiefly agricultural in occupation and as yet untouched by the transforming effects of the Industrial Revolution. There were no railroads, no steamships, no telegraphs, no factories, no stock exchanges, no tenement houses, no trusts,

no labor unions, no cities of fifty thousand, nothing virtually except Mother Earth and human nature that goes to make up our present-day world and its problems. The framers were wise men in their generation, but they were not prophets; they could not foresee the future, and their views were not our views. Conditions change, and political institutions must change with them, else a country becomes petrified as China did. The framers made such changes too difficult. To amend the Constitution requires a two-thirds majority of each house of Congress and three-fourths of the states; there can rarely be such unanimity of opinion on any important question, and especially so when some of the states are little more than rotten boroughs controlled by the powers that prey. Fundamental amendments are virtually impossible, and the result is that legislators must devote a large share of their attention not to whether a proposed law is needed, but to whether it would be adjudged constitutional by the Supreme Court. The result is, in certain matters, a state of affairs similar to that existing in the old kingdom of Poland, where, under the *liberum veto*, a single noble could block the wishes of all the rest of the country. Conditions such as these, it is contended, if too long continued, result in violent revolutions and, for this and other reasons, the method of amending the Constitution ought to be made easier.

Furthermore, the critics assert, the Constitution was, even for its own day, a reactionary document.

Its framers were mostly men with financial interests to subserve, and the Constitution made by them is "essentially an economic document based upon the concept that the fundamental private rights of property are anterior to government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities." Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was then abroad, acting as minister to France; had he been a member of the convention, it is possible that there would have been less insistence on the rights of property and more on the rights of man. Many of the delegates who did sit in the convention were aristocratic in their ideas; distrust of the people peers out of many clauses in the finished work,* such as the provision for the indirect choice of the President, the system of amendment and the provisions for the Senate and the Supreme Court. Says Woodrow Wilson:

"The federal government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep and power of popular majorities. The Senate, it was believed, would be a stronghold of conservatism, if not of aristocracy and wealth. The President, it was expected, would be the choice of representative men acting in the electoral college, and not of the people. The

*It even recognized the right of property in human beings. "It was, in intention, and is, in essence, undemocratic. It was conceived in a violent distrust of the common people, and was dedicated to the principle that 'the minority of the opulent' must be protected from American *sans culottes*."—Weyl, *The New Democracy*, page 13.

federal judiciary was looked to, with its virtually permanent membership, to hold the entire structure of national politics in nice balance against all disturbing influences, whether of popular impulse or of official overbearance. Only in the House of Representatives were the people to be accorded an immediate audience and a direct means of making their will effective in affairs. The government had, in fact, been originated upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes.”*

The country has inclined more to popular rule in a century and a quarter. Some features of the Constitution, such, for example, as the method of electing the President, have lent themselves to the control of the people in ways which the framers did not anticipate; those features which guaranteed the right to hold property in human beings were eliminated by a great war; and yet “at the present time we are trying to make an undemocratic Constitution the vehicle of democratic rule. . . . It was framed for one purpose while we are trying to use it for another. Is free government, then, being tried here under conditions most favorable to its success?”†

Virtually every one will admit that all that has obviated the necessity of discarding the Constitution long ago is a system of “broad construction” which would doubtless make many of the framers gasp. The Supreme Court has been “a perpetual convention for the amendment of the Constitution,” and

* *Division and Reunion*, page 12.

† Smith, *The Spirit of American Government*, page 31.

some of the mental gymnastics performed by that body in finding authority for a measure which it favored or grounds for annulling a measure which it opposed have been wonderful to behold. But, even with the broadest construction reasonably possible, we are foreclosed from undertaking certain social reforms which some other nations deem essential to their welfare, while our power in other vital matters is open to grave question. Under the Constitution, in fact, our institutions possess a rigidity, a resistance to change, that is met with in no other great democracy. In Great Britain and France, if a majority of the voters desire a measure and persist in their determination, they are certain of securing it. Under our system a minority of the people, intrenched behind the bulwark of the written Constitution, may block needed reforms indefinitely.

The fact is notorious that in many states and often in the national government* itself public opinion and the officials in power are not in accord, that the actual ruling force is an oligarchy known as "the invisible government," standing behind the political machine, which machine distracts public attention by fighting sham battles with another machine, with which it is allied in a bipartizan combine, so that whichever party wins the people are sure to lose. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the voters are themselves partly

* Not long since a keen observer of political matters in Washington remarked to the author: "It is astonishing how many Senators seem actually to be afraid to be in agreement with the people."

to blame for this state of affairs, but also our complicated and cumbersome political machinery which, with its numerous checks and balances, makes popular control of the government extremely difficult and thereby aids the game of the selfish interests.

Critics contend that our institutions not only fail to secure popular rule but that they also make for inefficiency in public affairs, that the theory of separation of powers between executive, legislature and judiciary prevents uniformity in policy, that the existing division of powers between states and nation causes confusion and delays the solution of pressing problems and that in many other respects the system needs readjustment.

It is a curious fact that the separation of powers between executive, legislature and judiciary was the outgrowth of a misconception regarding the English Constitution. Montesquieu, in his famous *Spirit of Laws*, had erroneously stated this as the basis of English polity, and the framers of the American Constitution accepted his view. In reality, the active British executive, that is, the Ministry, is virtually a committee of Parliament, and it must be in harmony with the majority in the House of Commons. When such harmony ceases, the Ministry either resigns or appeals to the country. As a result, coherent policy is possible and Commons and executive work together toward the same ends. The leaders of the party in power in the Commons and in the House of Lords are also members of the Ministry.

and important laws passed are invariably government measures which have been considered not merely as units but as parts of a whole.

No such unity of action prevails in American government, either federal or state. The President may advise Congress by message, but neither he nor any of his Cabinet has a seat in either house, though proposals in favor of allowing the Cabinet officers seats have frequently been made. Harmony is sometimes secured as a result of party action, but even under the most favorable conditions such harmony is likely to be imperfect. In case President and both houses are in accord politically the outcome is likely to be satisfactory but if, as is often the case, the President belongs to one party and a majority in either house to another, then the result is cross-purposes, playing politics and virtual blockade except as regards routine legislation. During much of our history under the Constitution, the party having a majority in the House of Representatives has not controlled the Senate and the Presidency.

Even when both houses and the President are theoretically in accord the best results are only obtainable when the President, as party chieftain, controls both executive and legislative departments. President Roosevelt worked on this theory. He developed the idea that the administration should have a definite policy, a coherent program of legislation, and he did not hesitate to force through laws distasteful to many Republican leaders in Congress. President Wilson

entertains a similar view of the President's functions, and some contend that he has gone further in this direction than even Roosevelt. His revival of the custom of addressing Congress personally, a custom disused since the days of Jefferson's presidency, and his use of the President's room in the Capitol are both in line with his theory of bringing executive and Congress into closer cooperation. President Taft early in his administration, in an effort to escape responsibility for the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill, announced that it was not the President's function to influence legislation, but he later wielded the patronage club in efforts to preserve harmony in his party and drove through Canadian reciprocity with whip and spur. The popular view undoubtedly is that a President should lead, and the people applaud an executive who gets results, whether with "a big stick" or by the milder methods of moral suasion. In the field of legislation such results often can only be obtained by his taking an active hand in the work of Congress. A President who does not control Congress is certain to be a weak President and the country is likely to suffer under him.

The same theory of a separation of powers obtains in the state governments, with the added disadvantage that the administration itself is decentralized. In the federal government the President is at least master of his own department, as a result of his power to dismiss any official who refuses to carry out his bidding; he chooses the heads of departments and can insist that

they work in harmony with him. It is not so in the states. There the secretary of state, the state treasurer, auditor, attorney general, etc., are elected and are independent of the governor, being sometimes of a different political party; nor does the governor have any effective control over county or city officials. Of course such administrative decentralization makes for inefficiency and lack of harmony, with a frequent resultant benefit to selfish private interests. It has been suggested that it would be far better to permit the governor to appoint an executive council in the nature of a cabinet, each member to head some executive department and be responsible for its conduct to the governor; that it would be well to confer on him the right to initiate legislation and in case of a deadlock between him and the legislature to appeal to the electorate. He would be elected for a long term and subject to recall. He would be given large power and would be held responsible for its proper use. He would thus be a real boss and an enemy of sham bosses, but he would boss in the interest of the people.

The existing division of powers between the nation and the states and the limited power of the federal government also makes for lack of public control and for inefficient government. Publicists rather generally agree that it would be better to put such matters as health and divorce into the hands of the nation instead of leaving them in the hands of the states with resultant lack of uniformity in these important matters. International complications with Italy, Japan

and other powers have resulted in the past from the powerlessness of the national government to protect aliens residing in this country, and it is not impossible that grave trouble might be prevented in the future by conferring jurisdiction in such matters on the central authority. The public interest would probably be subserved by annexing to the federal government the so-called "twilight zone" in which predatory corporations have too often found a safe refuge. If certain social and economic reforms now being agitated are to be adopted those clauses of the Constitution which forbid the states from "impairing the obligation of contracts" and deprivation of property "without due process of law" will have to be modified. Extreme advocates of "states' rights" will, of course, oppose any further extension of national power, and certainly the states ought not to be deprived of any authority which experience has demonstrated they are capable of exercising to the best advantage, for it is important that they should be preserved as vigorous centers of local government; but the question of whether this country is a nation or a mere confederation has long since been settled, and there are many who believe that in certain matters the sphere of the central government ought to be extended.

II

The interpreter of the Constitution is the Supreme Court, a body which occupies a position unlike that of any other in any important country in the world.

Although nothing in the Constitution confers on it the power to nullify legislation it early assumed that power, though only after a struggle, and it now stands as the final authority. Even though a law should be passed unanimously by Congress, should receive the signature of the President, and should have the enthusiastic approval of ninety-nine hundredths of the people, if the Supreme Court should hold it unconstitutional, unconstitutional it would be, and the only normal remedy would be an amendment to the Constitution, on the effect of which the court would be the final judge.

It is generally supposed that our federal judiciary is modeled after that of Great Britain, but the supposition is partly in error. British judges are not a coordinate branch of the government; they have not since the days of the Stuarts dared to nullify an act of Parliament; and they are removable by the executive upon address from both houses of Parliament. Great Britain, in fact, has no written Constitution and there exists no practicable distinction between the Constitution and ordinary legislation; any act which Parliament may pass becomes the law of the land no matter what its provisions. In the United States, however, federal judges can set aside any act they see fit, and can only be impeached by a majority of the House and two-thirds of the Senate, and even then merely for "Treason, Bribery, or other High Crimes and Misdemeanors," and not for being obstacles in the path of

progress. No more effectual check on the will of the majority could well be devised.*

The judges of the Supreme Court are but men and their decisions, in the opinion of some, are swayed by personal predilections. "Acts of Congress and of state legislatures," says Professor Frank J. Goodnow, "are declared by that body [the Supreme Court] to be unconstitutional not because their enactment is thought to be undesirable or inexpedient but because they can not be made to conform to a conception of the organization and powers of government which we have inherited from the eighteenth century." He questions whether without amendment of the Constitution "our political organization can develop in such a way as to be in accord with even existing economic conditions, not to speak at all of the future. . . . Few can refrain from asking the question why Americans alone of all peoples should be denied the possibility of political and social change?"

The tactical position of the federal courts is not, however, so strong as is generally supposed. The Constitution merely provides for one Supreme Court and for "such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." Should Congress and the President—or two-thirds of each house without the President—choose to do so, they

* "I do not know of any more striking political paradox than this supremacy of a non-elected power in a democracy reputed to be of the extreme type."—Boutmy, *Studies in Constitutional Law*, page 118.

could abolish all the inferior courts, as was to a large extent done when Jefferson and the Republicans came into power. Congress might even neglect to appropriate money for meeting the expenses of the Supreme Court itself and thereby starve it into making terms. The court depends on the executive to enforce its decisions and is powerless without such assistance. Thus when Chief Justice Marshall cited the state of Georgia on a writ of error in the case of the condemned Creek half-breed Tassells, President Jackson declared that Marshall had made his decision and might enforce it, a thing he was powerless to do. Later Lincoln calmly ignored a writ of habeas corpus issued by Chief Justice Taney in the Merriman case. Furthermore, the Constitution confers original jurisdiction on the Supreme Court only in cases affecting foreign representatives and those in which a state shall be a party and provides that its appellate jurisdiction shall be subject to "such exceptions, and under such regulations as Congress shall make." Obviously, therefore, Congress could deprive the court of all appellate jurisdiction and by limiting it to the narrow field in which it has original jurisdiction could render it powerless to pass on the constitutionality of the great mass of legislation. In 1868 Congress actually did deprive the courts of jurisdiction over cases arising under the reconstruction acts and thereby, "with the acquiescence of the country . . . subdued the Supreme Court."

In the main our courts, both federal and state, have

proved satisfactory and have been comparatively little criticized in the past, but the demand for sweeping reforms, particularly in the state courts, is now both insistent and wide-spread. Critics assert that they are poorly organized, that they are swamped by technicalities, that they are hidebound by precedent, that they give too much weight to property rights and too little to human rights, that they act as a dam to the progress of social justice, that their power to set aside legislation as unconstitutional, once rarely exercised, has become more and more frequent, and that the judges themselves too often lack "an understanding heart."

Many judges and lawyers admit the force of some of these criticisms. Of the New York courts a lawyer of that state has recently written that they are "in greater part a mere patchwork devised very largely for the purpose of creating jobs for a miscellaneous class of clerks, assistant clerks, confidential special clerks, criers, messengers, interpreters, reporters, and stenographers." The municipal courts of cities are, with honorable exceptions such as those of Chicago and New York, often wretchedly bad, being used as pawns in the political game, while their judges are not infrequently men of no principle, with little or no legal knowledge, "grafters" of the most contemptible type, preying on the ignorant and wretched beings who come before them. A notable instance of such courts are the magistrates' courts of Philadelphia, which have been attacked even

by honest magistrates themselves but which, owing to malign political influences, are as yet unchanged. Court procedure has become complicated to the last degree and it is said that in New York its relative importance compared with the importance of right is about as three is to two. The rules laid down are so specific and judges are so tied down by them that not infrequently perfectly good cases are thrown out of court through non-compliance with mere formalities and thus the letter is allowed to kill the spirit of justice.

Even the jury system is considered unsatisfactory by many. Reformers urge that means should be found for obtaining a better class of jurors and suggest that in all except capital cases nine or ten out of twelve, instead of absolute unanimity, should be made sufficient for a verdict.

The "law's delay" has been notorious in all ages, and complaints concerning it have been found scribbled even on the walls of Pompeii, but perhaps in no free country has justice traveled slower than in the United States. In innumerable instances wealthy parties to suits, by taking advantage of this fact, have been able to secure the triumph of wrong. Cases are bandied back and forth between the courts like a ball in the old game of battledore and shuttlecock, and five, ten, and even twenty years have been known to elapse before a final judgment was rendered.

Another criticism of the courts is that they are inclined to lay too much emphasis on precedent. Ad-

herence to the principles enunciated in past decisions is, of course, justifiable in many cases but not in all. The theory of precedent is indissolubly wedded to the idea that society is *static* in character, whereas history shows that in reality it is *dynamic*. Since society is in constant process of evolution principles applicable to one period may be inapplicable to another. If society were a fixed and constant quantity a constitution and rules of law drawn up five thousand years ago in the days of the Pharaohs would be just as satisfactory now as then. Merely to state such a proposition is to show its absurdity, and yet the static theory still influences many of our courts.

As a matter of fact, the task of determining what is precedent is often almost a hopeless one, so intricate are the mazes in the jungle of past decisions. Says Professor Howard L. Smith: "There are in America alone over six thousand volumes of decisions of fifty or sixty tribunals, and these are being added to at the rate of from one to two hundred volumes per annum. The common law is being further developed, illustrated, and made by the courts of Great Britain and all her wide-spread colonies. . . . An advertisement of a recent encyclopedia of law boasts that it has 8,559 citations on the subject of adverse possession, while its leading competitor has only a paltry 4,999. On the subject of abatement and revival it has 5,015 and on appeal and error 47,000. Amid this bog of precedents the lawyer of to-day must stumble, groping earnestly, but often vainly, for a clue which shall

lead him to the truth. It is probable that the number of citations on the one subject of appeal and error in this encyclopedia is greater than the real number of precedents on all legal subjects in existence a century ago; but the mad race of precedents is only begun.”*

Almost from the beginning of our government the opponents of change, when defeated in the other departments of government, have found a last refuge in the judiciary. When the Federalist party had been utterly routed elsewhere, it “retired into the judiciary as a stronghold,” complained Thomas Jefferson. “There the remains of federalism are to be preserved and fed from the treasury; and from that battery all the works of republicanism are to be beaten down and destroyed.”

The Supreme Court has played a great and, on the whole, an honorable part in the upbuilding of the country; it has developed and sustained nationalism as against states’ rights; it has insisted on keeping the public faith in financial matters; and yet some of its decisions have been disastrous to liberty, popular rule and even to common honesty. Take as a single instance the famous case of *Fletcher versus Peck*, in which the court in 1810 decided that the Constitution forbids a state to impair the obligation of a contract. On its face the theory thus laid down seems fair and just enough, but what were the real facts? In 1795 a group of unscrupulous speculators obtained by bribery a grant from the Georgia legislature to some

* Quoted in McCarthy, *The Wisconsin Idea*, page 211.

millions of acres of land in the Yazoo region, then a part of Georgia, paying the state in exchange a merely nominal sum. Georgia did not have a referendum by which the sale could be brought before the people for acceptance or rejection, but the people rose up in their wrath and at the next election chose a legislature which revoked the grant. Ultimately the matter came before the federal Supreme Court. Now it is a general principle of law that fraud vitiates any transaction, but the court did not so decide in this case. Instead it held that even a contract fraudulently obtained from a state holds good, and that has been the accepted rule ever since. Had the court held instead that the contract was void and had it thereby restricted the application of the constitutional clause to the impairment of *honest* contracts, the whole history of public contracts and franchises in the United States would read differently. For if this were the rule in law, what advantage would it be to bribe a legislature or a city council to grant a valuable franchise if discovery of the crooked dealing would result in the nullification of the franchise? As it is, franchise grabbers may employ the most outrageous methods of corruption, but let the contract be signed and delivered, and no legal power can tear it from their grasp.

There can be no escaping the fact that the judicial attitude on social and industrial questions is often narrow, and especially has this been the case with state courts. In recent years the Supreme Court has

for the most part shown a proper appreciation of the needs of the times, but even it has been guilty of occasional lapses. Among the state courts those of Wisconsin and Kansas enjoy an enviable reputation for having in part at least shaken off the shackles of the old individualistic philosophy which deems social guaranties primarily for the protection of property. But most state courts are still illiberal, and this fact is the more serious because if the courts of a state hold that a state law violates the constitution of the state their decision can not be attacked; and if the same courts decide that a law violates the federal Constitution, there exists no method of appeal from such decision.

"The existing political order has been created by lawyers,"* says Herbert Croly, "and they naturally believe somewhat obsequiously in a system for which they are responsible, and from which they benefit. This government of law, of which they boast, is not only a government by lawyers, but is a government in the interest of litigation. It makes legal advice more constantly essential to the corporation and the individual than any European political system. The lawyer, just as much as the millionaire and the politician, has reaped a bountiful harvest from the inefficiency and

* It has often been remarked by foreign observers that in America the lawyer is unusually supreme. In the early history of New England the ministry dominated public affairs, but about the time of the Revolution the legal fraternity began to acquire more influence, and their influence is now dominant in almost every section of the country. Over three-fifths of the existing Congress are lawyers.

irresponsibility of American state government and from the worship of individual rights.”*

III

There was a time when our political institutions were popularly looked on as the last word in democratic government. The man who ventured to criticize the Constitution, framed by the Fathers, was regarded in much the same light as in ancient Hebraic times was the person who dared lay impious hands on the sacred Ark of the Covenant. That day is past. As Elihu Root admits, Americans appear to have entered upon a “reexamination of their system of government,” and the belief is spreading among them that the whole system needs overhauling. Even the Constitution itself, it is alleged, needs amendment in order that it may be transformed from a bulwark of privilege into a true fortress of liberty. The work, in fact, has already been begun. The recent amendment authorizing an income tax puts beyond question a power concerning which the Supreme Court has reversed itself, while that providing for the popular election of Senators is a step in the direction of popular control. It is improbable that the Senate will ever again be such a stronghold of railway and other corporate interests as it was for so many years—a veritable inner keep held against the forces of progress and popular desire. It is safe to prophesy that the process of amendment will not stop here.

* *The Promise of American Life*, page 136.

Concerning the desirability of reform in judicial organization and procedure there exists comparatively little difference of opinion; even such conservatives as Mr. Taft have declared it one of the crying needs of the day; but as regards securing popular control over the judiciary there is no such unanimity. Conservatives, believers in vested rights, desire to retain the courts, both state and federal, in their independent position with virtually a final veto on legislation. The progressively inclined view the matter in a different light and have brought forward a number of proposals. Some would make the federal judges elective instead of appointive, perhaps merely for a term of years rather than for life or during good behavior; the plans most agitated, however, are for the "recall of judges," either state or federal or both, and for the "recall of decisions." By the former plan a majority of the voters could remove an unsatisfactory judge from office; by the latter they could reverse a decision. The first plan is already incorporated into the constitutions of California, Arizona and other states. The recall of decision plan was given prominence by Theodore Roosevelt as an alternative to the more radical plan for the recall of judges, and is a plank in the platform of the Progressive party but has not yet been adopted in any state except Colorado.

Still another proposal has met with some favor. The constitution adopted by Ohio in 1912 provides that the supreme court of the state can not declare a

law unconstitutional unless six of the seven judges concur in such a decision. The legislature of Minnesota in 1913 provided that an amendment of similar character, requiring five of seven judges, should be submitted to the voters in 1914.

No proposed change in many years has aroused more acrimonious controversy than has the plan for the recall of judges. Conservatives exhaust the arsenal of invective in denouncing it. Says President Nicholas Murray Butler:

"The principle of the recall when applied to the judiciary, however, is much more than a piece of stupid folly. It is an outrage of the first magnitude! It is said: 'Are not the judges the servants of the people? Do not the people choose them directly or indirectly, and should not the people be able to terminate their service at will?' To these questions I answer flatly, No! The judges stand in a wholly different relation to the people from executive and legislative officials. The judges are primarily the servants not of the people, but the law."

"The judge," says Congressman Samuel W. McCall, "in order to feel secure in his office, would have to consult the popular omens rather than the sources of the law. Instead of looking to the drift of authorities, he would be likely to study the direction of the popular winds. If in some judicial district a strong labor union or a great corporation should hold the balance of political power, the courts in that district would be likely to become mere instruments of oppression."

Advocates of the judicial recall reply that democratic government is a misnomer for any form of government in which the majority can not rule. Obviously they can not rule if their will can be thwarted by a practically irremovable judge who is out of sympathy with the people. As for a judge watching the direction of the popular winds, would that not be preferable to his watching the crooking finger of a boss? The recall is merely impeachment simplified and made more direct and workable. It will not be frequently invoked, but will be especially valuable for its deterrent effect. When the hour of need does come, the weapon will be ready.

The view of those advocating judicial reform is, generally speaking, that personally judges are for the most part estimable gentlemen but that their training and prejudices are such that too often they consider the chief function of constitutions to be to limit the power of the majority, forgetting that other democratic countries have "repudiated the eighteenth-century theory that the few have a right to thwart the will of the many." Having devoted most of their lives to the service of property (for judges are usually chosen from among the ranks of successful lawyers), they are likely almost unconsciously to have absorbed the point of view of corporations and the rich. With property as such the reformers have no quarrel. But they insist that flesh and blood are entitled to at least as much consideration if not more.

The first case in which the recall of judges was in-

voked was that of a San Francisco police judge. This judge had been in the habit of accepting ridiculously low bail bonds for prisoners accused of rape and, it was charged, had dismissed prisoners who ought to have been brought to trial. Finally, in the case of a man accused of assaulting a young girl, he arbitrarily reduced a bail of one thousand dollars fixed by another judge to three hundred dollars, with the result that the criminal fled. The incident aroused the women of the city and the necessary signatures to a recall petition were easily obtained. The "big interests" of the city, organized vice and the bar association supported the judge, but by a small majority he was removed. There seems no reason to doubt that he deserved to be stripped of his robes, and it is claimed that the example made of him had a bracing effect on some of his brethren left on the bench. In this case at least there was nothing to justify the declaration of Senator Root that "the people, if they get the power, will strike down and degrade all righteous members of the judiciary," but what the ultimate results will be only time will show.

IV

The program of reform also includes the initiative, the referendum and the recall of executive and legislative officers. The object of those advocating these measures is to get rid of the bosses and their masters and to secure efficient popular rule. By the in-


initiative, if careless or corrupt legislators fail to pass a needed law the people themselves can do it. By the referendum, if legislators pass a bad law the people can annul it by direct vote. By the recall, if an official proves himself incompetent, dishonest or otherwise unsatisfactory the people can remove him as an individual employer would dismiss an unsatisfactory servant. If the people themselves have the power to pass laws directly, to annul bad laws, to dismiss incompetent and traitorous officials, then it will obviously be useless for predatory interests to corrupt legislators or other public officials.

Such, in a few words, is the theory of the workings of the initiative, referendum and recall. They have at least the merit of ingeniousness. Nor are they altogether new and untried. The principle of the initiative and referendum, particularly of the latter, was occasionally employed in colonial times, especially in New England, and since, and both devices have long been in use in Switzerland. Direct legislation was first advocated by socialistic groups and then by the Farmers' Alliance, passed into the platforms of the People's party, and subsequently was taken up by both progressive Democrats and progressive Republicans, being first adopted by South Dakota in 1898. In their essence the initiative and referendum constitute an effort to apply the principle of the town meeting—so often praised even by conservative writers—to a polity too large for the people to gather together in a primary assembly. The recall also is of

ancient origin and was employed by the states when they desired to recall their representatives in the Congress of the Confederation. In the main, however, it is adapted from Switzerland.

A great many people, including a large number who have no selfish desire to prevent popular rule, are bitterly opposed to the adoption of these devices. They declare that direct legislation runs counter to the principle of representative government; that it deprives representatives of responsibility and power and tends to the choice of less capable men; that it places a greater burden on the voter than he will carry; that it fails to weaken the influence of political organizations; that it encourages ill-considered and inconsistent legislation; and that it virtually abolishes the distinction between the constitution and ordinary laws.

"What a glorious time it would be for the perpetual disturber of political peace!" asserts one critic. "It is proposed, for instance, that five per cent. or eight per cent. of the electorate shall be sufficient to initiate legislation and to demand a poll of the people thereon. Legislation so initiated can not be amended or perfected in form. It can not be examined in committee, its sponsors can not be cross-questioned; it must be taken or left precisely as they project it into the political arena. Is there any community in the world where five per cent. of the adult males can not be gotten to sign a petition for anything? Is there any community in the world where if five per



cent. of the adult males had petitioned for something that had been denied, they could not be gotten to petition for it again without delay? Would not life under this system become one long series of elections? Should we not be pursuing each other to the polls once a week to pass upon some new legislative proposal, and not always one presented by the wisest and most thoughtful of our citizens? What would be the effect of all this on public sanity and order and on the members of our legislative bodies, national and state? Are the best men in your community going to accept nomination and election to a legislative body any one of whose acts, however carefully formulated, may be brought up for review and possibly overturned on the initiative of five per cent. of the voting population? We complain that we do not always get the men we would most like to see in the state and national legislatures. Should we get a better class of representatives, or worse, if we took away this sense of responsibility, took away their dignity and authority, and set ourselves up on every side to duplicate or possibly to overturn their every act? There is only one possible answer to that question. We should degrade our legislative bodies and reduce them to intellectual, moral and political impotence."

Critics of the recall allege that it likewise will lower the character and independence of public officers, that it is expensive, that it would result in times of crisis in the removal of the very men needed to weather the storm, that the existing process of impeachment fur-

nishes a sufficient remedy. Advocates of the recall retort by pointing to the Sulzer impeachment in New York, where a political machine removed from office a man who refused to do their corrupt bidding. Could the recall, they ask, result in anything worse than this? They deny that the impeachment plan furnishes a sufficient remedy, and assert that it is virtually useless because the legislators called on to impeach are usually in political sympathy with the culprit and will condone his offenses. Instead of making for frequent change the recall will, they declare, make for stability, for it will then be safe to elect officials for long terms, and they will practically be allowed to remain in power during good behavior. At any rate, they believe some method must be found for reaching men who are long on promises before election and short on performance afterward.

Both sides endeavor to draw conclusions favorable to their contentions from the experience of the states and cities in which the initiative, referendum and recall have been actually employed. Opponents of direct legislation point to Oregon as an example of the dire effects of the system, and specify that in 1910 eleven constitutional amendments and twenty-one proposed laws were submitted to the people,* that the proposed changes, with arguments for and against, filled two hundred and eight pages of the

*In 1912 there were fourteen proposed amendments, of which four were adopted, and thirty-seven proposed laws, of which eleven were adopted.

Publicity Pamphlet, which the state, under the system, sends out to each registered voter, that the ballot itself was so large that it was "like voting a bed-quilt," that manifestly it was impossible for any but a very few voters to familiarize themselves with so many measures, that the percentage of voters expressing an opinion on some of the measures was only a little more than sixty per cent. of the number voting for governor, that the number expressing an intelligent choice was far less, that some of the measures were loosely drawn and contradictory and that the constitution is being recklessly and dangerously changed by such procedure.

Defenders of the Oregon system admit, or at least some of them do, that it has defects, but "they desire the defects remedied rather than that the ax should be laid to the root of the tree." They deny that the people have failed to measure up to the task imposed on them, or that they have usurped the authority of the legislature, and point to the fact that the nine laws passed in 1910 were less than one-thirtieth of the number enacted by the corresponding session of the legislature. They assert that their government in the past had not been truly representative because not responsive to public opinion, and that through direct legislation they have secured a number of needed laws and constitutional amendments which interest-controlled legislatures had refused to grant. They deny that the legislation enacted directly is any more carelessly drawn than laws passed

by the legislature, a large proportion of which are jammed through in haste at the fag end of a session without receiving any consideration worthy of the name. They contend that a law secured through the initiative has the great advantage of being drawn by its friends, men who are anxious that it should work properly, and that hence it is not full of "jokers" designed to kill the ostensible effect of the bill. They assert further that the system helps to obtain non-partizan measures, that it tends to concentrate attention on measures rather than men and that party control is no longer so dominant. They point triumphantly to the fact that seekers after special privileges and all corrupt interests are unanimously opposed to the plan. And they contend that, instead of decreasing interest in public affairs, the system has exactly the opposite tendency and that its educational effect can not fail to have desirable results in the future.

Irrespective of the merits of their other arguments, the advocates of direct legislation are undoubtedly right in insisting that the use of the new devices has an educational effect. It is true that some of the voters will grumble and that many will not familiarize themselves with the issues, but where voters are permitted to pass on measures intimately affecting their own interests a much larger number will undoubtedly follow public affairs than will do so under the ordinary representative system. Every added citizen who takes an intelligent interest in public questions means

better government in the future. The notion that the citizen ought not to have to trouble himself about the public business except on biennial or quadrennial election days is a fallacy which is responsible for a large share of our misgovernment. In this respect assuredly the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy. Like the muscles of the body the civic sense develops as a result of exercise and atrophies as a result of disuse.

After all, why should it not be so? We have been told times without number of the wonderful results attained by the system of the town meeting, of the golden period of Athenian history when the people met together in primary assembly. The citizens of New England passed judgment on public questions and they had to be informed concerning them. Good government, like any other result, can only be obtained by intelligence and hard work. When Americans realize this we may expect our government to become better.

And yet the task laid on the citizen must not be too heavy. If the system of direct legislation is to be retained it must be so restricted that the voter will not have to pass on too many measures, else in very truth he will shirk his task or perform it perfunctorily. The great mass of legislation must be left to the legislatures, for undoubtedly such work can generally be better done by picked men devoting their whole attention to the subject than by the whole citizen body. The initiative should be resorted to only

when the legislature refuses to enact really necessary laws, and doubtless the existence of the recall would tend to bring members to a keener sense of duty in such matters. The truth is that we ought to elect better legislators and, some think, fewer of them. Our legislatures and the national House of Representatives have grown too unwieldy for efficient deliberative work. The governor of Kansas has gone so far as to recommend a unicameral legislature of only sixteen members.

V

Many persons who oppose direct legislation and the recall are willing enough to adopt another device designed to bring this object about, namely the primary election. Assuredly, in most places, reform in this matter is badly needed. *Of all the weaknesses in our political system undoubtedly the greatest has been our methods of selecting candidates for office.* That this is so is largely due to the fact that in the beginning the law ignored this phase of government entirely. Elections proper were safeguarded by legal restrictions, lax at first and then more strict; but the choosing of the men who were to be voted for was left entirely to the party organizations to regulate as they would. Various methods were at first employed, but finally about 1830 there developed the convention system, which has continued in use down to our own time. The faults of the convention system are too well known to need discussion here; it is sufficient

to say that under that system it is usually possible for the machine to select the candidates without much trouble. Now when all the candidates of all the chief parties are machine-picked, machine candidates are certain to be elected whichever party triumphs at the polls, for the voter has merely a choice between evils. Conversely, if good candidates are selected by the rank and file of each party, then good men are certain to be elected whichever party wins. Nothing can be more obvious, and yet this seems entirely to have escaped the attention of the average voter. He would not be willing—of course not!—to permit some one else to cast his ballot in the actual election, yet he will carelessly abdicate his rights in the matter of selecting the man for whom he will ultimately vote. The cold truth is that the nomination season is more important than the election season.

Primary elections are now legally provided for in many states, and yet only a few really good primary laws are in force. Ignorance of the requisites of a good law and underhand work on the part of enemies of the system have combined to make the rest unsatisfactory. The machines and the selfish interests back of the machines have naturally fought the primary plan, and when forced to concede such laws they have often contrived to make them as imperfect as possible. To be really effective a primary law should be as stringent as for an election, and it is becoming evident that a majority rather than

a plurality should be required, otherwise a well-organized minority may control. In order to insure such a majority the system of preferential voting has been evolved, whereby the voter may express not only his first but his second and third choices where there are more than two candidates.

The vote at primaries is often so small that some authorities are proposing legislation to compel men to vote at them. Another suggestion is that only those who take part in the primary should be allowed to participate in the election. Certainly it is desirable that a limit should be placed on the amount of money that can be expended by a candidate, otherwise it may happen that only wealthy men will be able to stand the pace of a contest. No man should be allowed to expend a hundred thousand dollars in obtaining the preference for United States Senator, as did a successful candidate in Wisconsin some years ago.

It must be admitted, however, that the primary system will not insure the elimination of the boss and the machine as has sometimes been claimed. The fact is that the government will always remain more or less in the hands of a political class, no matter what devices may be adopted. But a primary system renders the overthrow of a corrupt machine decidedly easier and thereby enables the people to put their affairs into the hands of leaders rather than of bosses.

Students of our institutions are almost unanimous in agreeing that we elect too many men to office,

that it would be infinitely better to diminish the number of elective positions, to elect only a few men, to let them appoint the rest and thus to concentrate responsibility. Thereby the voter would be enabled to form an intelligent opinion as to the character and abilities of the candidates, either in the primary or at the election. Under the existing system in most states it is absolutely impossible for the ordinary voter to do this. Not infrequently a score or more of positions are to be filled, while the aspirants may number a hundred, three hundred or even more. Under such conditions even men who are actively in politics are often at sea as to the abilities of the candidates. Any voter of experience will admit that at a primary he is often obliged "to go it blind," so to speak, and trust to luck to pick the best men, or else that he merely votes a "slate" prepared by some one else. This, of course, goes far to strengthen the power of the machine and, though in theory the election of every officer insures the voter control, in reality it tends to put him at the mercy of the machine.

We have always had this short ballot plan in force in our choice of federal officers, and undoubtedly this is one reason why federal government is better government than state or local government is apt to be. We vote only for President and Vice-President (the names of electors go on the ballot but they do not signify), for one Congressman, and now for United States Senator. At first thought the extension of

the direct election system to the senatorship is a step backward, but in reality it is not, for under the old plan we chose state representatives and senators (usually several of them to a county), who in turn selected the Senator. We still elect these local legislators, of course, but we vote for only one man for Senator, and know exactly for whom we are voting.

In the words of Professor Charles A. Beard: "The fact is, we have tried in the United States almost every scheme known in the history of politics except simple, direct, responsible government. By a strange perversity of fate, the fear of democracy and the passion for democracy have led to the same result—the creation of a heavy and complicated political mechanism, yielding quickly enough to the operations of the political expert and blocking at every turn the attempts of the people to work it honestly and efficiently. Powerful private interests find their best shelter behind a multiplicity of barriers, politicians have no desire to make plain the game, and reformers generally attack corruption or inefficiency by adding some new office or board of control."

"The simplification of the work of the voter lies in the short ballot," said Senator Elihu Root in a recent speech. "There is no reason why we should elect a secretary of state, a state controller, and other officers. They should be appointed, just as a President of the United States appoints his Cabinet. It will enable the people to fix responsibility. That's the most important thing in our government. Our

affairs are growing so fast and complicated we know very little about them. Under the short ballot you put the reform up to one man."

The city of Cleveland, long one of our chief political science laboratories, recently adopted—thanks to power granted by the new Ohio constitution—the short ballot plan combined with a system of preferential voting. The only officers elected are the mayor, council, municipal judges and board of education. As the members of the council are chosen by district the voter casts his ballot merely for a mayor, one councilman, three judges and four members of the board of education. The candidates are nominated by petition and no party or partizan designation appears on the ballot. The voter records his first choice and, if he desires, his second and third choices. In case no candidate for a given office receives a majority of the first choice votes the second and if necessary the third choice votes are added to the totals until some one receives a majority. In the election of 1913 Newton D. Baker, the able political heir of Tom L. Johnson, was reelected, though it was necessary to add the second choice votes in order to determine the contest. Several other cities have adopted similar plans, but it is yet too early to draw conclusions as to the effect of such systems.

The short ballot plan and the idea of concentrated responsibility are also combined in what is known as the commission form of government for cities. This plan originated at Galveston after the great

flood of 1900, and has worked so well that it is already in operation in more than three hundred municipalities, including cities as large as St. Paul and New Orleans. Under it a commission of three or more members is elected by the people and these men appoint the other necessary officers, head the departments and exercise both executive and legislative functions. Under a modified form of commission government known as the "Des Moines" plan the initiative, referendum and recall are incorporated and thus the people are given closer control over their governing board.

Yet another form is that adopted by Staunton, Virginia; Sumter, South Carolina; and more recently by Dayton, Ohio. The Dayton experiment has awakened much interest throughout the country and is being watched hopefully by other municipalities. Like Galveston, Dayton passed through the horrors of a great flood before she adopted the new plan, although she already had it under consideration. Under it the people elect five commissioners, who in turn appoint a city manager. This manager need not be a citizen of the town and, in fact, the theory is that he shall be the best man obtainable, irrespective of his place of residence. He is given a salary of twelve thousand five hundred dollars a year and is the responsible head of the administration, which is made subject to the checks of the initiative, referendum and recall. Dayton first endeavored to secure the services of Colonel Goethals, the famous builder

of the Panama Canal and, failing in this, engaged Henry W. Waite, a trained engineer who had had experience in the conduct of municipal affairs under Mayor Hunt of Cincinnati. The plan is intended to eliminate partizan politics and to put city affairs on a business basis. The feature of the selection of a trained man embodies a principle long recognized in Germany but too often ignored in this country. During the first six months of his administration, Mr. Waite was able to cut the death-rate of babies exactly in two and to accomplish other reforms.

VI

With better systems of municipal government we shall be able to make headway toward the solution of the greatest of all municipal problems, that of public service utilities. The history of this subject is probably the most discreditable that can be found in American affairs. Corruption long ran rampant, and as a result the tribute now exacted by public service corporations is almost beyond belief. Short-sightedness on the part of city councils has resulted almost as disastrously as corruption. The length of the time for which grants run has almost invariably been too long and provision has rarely been made for changed conditions. Charges which were perhaps not excessive when charters were granted may be extortionate now. In some cities a conspiracy exists between the press and the public service cor-

porations to keep the people in ignorance of the truths which experiments elsewhere have shown. What have these experiments shown? In the city of Cleveland it has been demonstrated that under municipal control, with most of the water squeezed out of stocks, three cents and one cent for a transfer is a sufficient street-railway fare to give better service than that in most cities and to pay a six per cent. dividend on the investment. In the same city a municipally owned and operated electric-light plant furnishes electricity at the rate of three cents maximum per kilowatt hour. In New York, which is in the hands of a private company, the corresponding rate is ten cents, while in some other places it is even higher.

Perhaps some one will say: "What does it matter? There is not much difference between three cents and five." It is true that the difference is only two cents, but when we consider that a workman must use the cars twice a day for at least three hundred days in the year and that members of his family must also use them occasionally, the difference becomes large enough to matter a great deal, and the aggregate of the difference for a whole city amounts to a vast yearly tribute. Now the streets of a city belong to the citizens of that city, and they are entitled to make the best terms obtainable when they let their use to a street-car company. The same principle applies to all other forms of public utilities.

Such, then, are the main institutional changes that are being agitated at present: Constitutional reform,

both state and federal, direct legislation, the recall, primary election laws, the short ballot and the commission form of government for cities—the main objects being to secure more effective popular control and more efficient government.

What of the future? The initiative and referendum are already in use in more than a dozen states, and these and the other devices are spreading in spite of the powerful conservative forces opposing them. It is safe to prophesy that within a decade American institutions will be much changed, and it is equally certain that many of the changes of which high hopes are entertained will prove disappointing but that out of the ferment some good will result.

Mere enforcement of existing laws is not enough. Attempts to return to the simpler conditions of a past age are doomed to disappointment, for the past is dead and social evolution does not move backward. In those respects in which our institutions need change let us change them, but let us not forget that because what is, is not necessarily right, neither is all change progress. To that which is good let us hold fast with a firm grip, for it is a priceless heritage from all the ages.

But more is needed than improved governmental machinery, as will be set forth in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XII

OUR DEFECTIVE CITIZENSHIP

I

IN August, 1913, I happened to be sitting in the gallery of the senate chamber listening to the debates on the Underwood Tariff Bill. My companion was a Senator's secretary, a vivacious young man trained in the best schools, long familiar with the inside of official life and the author of several trenchant books and articles on historical and political subjects. Beneath us the Senators lolled back in their upholstered chairs, some pretending to listen to the droning voices of the speakers, others openly displaying their indifference; while outside the awed summer tourists from provincial places came and went in little flocks through the long corridors of the Capitol. There they were, the assembled solons of America: pussy-footed Stone; elephantine Penrose and his diminutive colleague Oliver; bewhiskered Kern, the Democratic captain of hosts; Tom Marshall sitting in the vice-presidential chair; shiny-domed and round-bodied Gallinger; long-locked and white-suited Vardaman; fatherly little old Knute Nelson; astounding J. Ham Lewis "of circumambient whiskers and joy-

ous sartorial make-up"; pompadoured La Follette; and many another of greater or lesser fame, some hoary-headed antiquities, others looking even boyish in face and form. It was a depressingly warm day, and Smoot, the tall Mormon apostle and chief spokesman of the Republicans on the floor, "viewed with alarm" with less energy than usual; the progressively inclined Kenyon, Cummins, Borah, Norris, Clapp and Bristow failed to foregather in a little knot as was their wont; hardly a Republican had hand to ear listening for the rumble of the popular uprising against the impious band that dared to lay violent hands on the sacred Ark of Protectionism; and even farmer Martine did not once go *must* and defy the whole opposition to verbal combat. The debates were, if possible, more deadly dull than usual, and I was meditating upon the futility of the long fight, the end of which was a foregone conclusion, when my companion touched my sleeve and whispered hoarsely:

"I never come into the Senate or the House without thinking—my God, how did some of these men get here!"

He spoke a profound truth. There are eminently able men in both branches of Congress, but mediocrity also is present in astonishing numbers. One really feels inclined to pity Senators and Representatives. They ought all to be great men, and so few of them are!

What is true of Senators and Representatives is true of other classes of officials, both state and na-

tional. Any one who comes in contact with public men is often destined to a sad disillusionment. Many are poorly educated, others are narrow in their views, some are brutally vulgar in language and manners, and the proportion of efficient, broad-spirited statesmen among them is much too small. The government of a country of a hundred million human beings with a wealth of a hundred and fifty billion dollars is a large business, yet comparatively little business ability is displayed in the work. Millions are expended on public buildings in places where tens of thousands would amply suffice, hosts of unnecessary appointees are kept on the pay-rolls, costly army posts and navy yards are maintained in places where they would be utterly useless in time of war and in an infinite variety of other ways the public treasure is frittered away and wasted because the puny souls of many Congressmen do not rise above the petty interests of their own localities.

"Log rolling" and "the pork barrel" are evils which are chiefly due to the desire of Senators and Representatives to remain in office. Occasionally a member may have a corrupt interest, but such cases are so rare as virtually to be negligible. The motives of members are often low, but not quite so gross. A distinguished United States Senator was recently asked: "What is the thing which the average member of either house is most anxious to bring about?" "His reelection," was the unhesitating reply. To secure that reelection he annually votes away tens

of millions of dollars, for a member has to support other members' pet projects in order to secure the passage of his own. Then, when election time rolls round, he goes upon the stump and, "pointing with pride" to the palatial public building at Paltryville, and the great locks across Dry Run, he exclaims "See what I did for the district!" And too often he is reelected.

It must not be understood that all Representatives and Senators are like this, nor that most public officers are dishonest or incompetent. There are thousands of good officials the country over who are giving the country their best service; some who are wearing out their lives and breaking their hearts as well in the effort to serve their country. And yet every one admits that the general average is not so high as it should be. Why is it not?

II

In his well-known chapter, *Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents*—a chapter, be it remarked, whose title is somewhat misleading, for several truly great men have been elevated to the presidential chair—James Bryce attempts to explain the phenomenon largely on the ground that in politics *ability* has to give way before *availability*. The question asked in considering a possible candidate is rarely: "Would so and so make a good President?" It is usually: "Could so and so be elected?" Bryce adds: "Great

men are not chosen Presidents, first because great men are rare in politics; secondly, because the method of choice does not bring them to the top; thirdly, because they are not, in quiet times, absolutely needed."

What Bryce observes regarding the choice of Presidents will apply with slight modifications to the election of Senators, Representatives, governors, judges and members of legislatures. Genius is a rare commodity. It is not every state that contains within its limits a Lincoln, a Clay or a John Marshall. Where such a dearth exists a state must perforce content itself with the services of second or third rate men. In this respect it is perhaps unfortunate that the choice should be limited by residence qualifications. If Arkansas or Wyoming do not possess citizens eminently fitted for the office of Senator and there lives in New York or Virginia a man outside public life eminently fitted for the work the well-being of the state and nation would no doubt often be best served if Arkansas or Wyoming would pass over the claims of her own sons and choose the outsider. The British follow such a custom in their choice of members of the House of Commons, and thereby undoubtedly raise the general average of that body.

Unfortunately few of the able men we have enter politics. The reasons are various. Some men feel that politics is a filthy mire and fear that they can not participate without being besmirched. Others fear to get down into the ruck and dread the personal notoriety and the antagonisms that are an almost in-

evitable accompaniment. Many of these and others feel that the rewards held out are not sufficient to counterbalance the hazards run. Most fail to realize fully the need of good and able men in official positions and the opportunities for service which a political career offers. And yet, at some time in his life, almost every American feels an inclination to attempt to enter public life. That more of the best class do not do so is no doubt largely due to our defective methods of choosing candidates. No self-respecting man feels that he wishes to obtain a nomination by cultivating the favor of a boss and, in many localities, this is virtually the only thoroughfare by which a man may reach public life. And yet for this state of affairs the citizens themselves are wholly to blame. They ought to rise up in their might and revolutionize the methods of selecting candidates. Until this is done we may expect that many of our best men will shrink from trying to enter the public service.

But mere changes in methods of selecting candidates will not suffice. The citizens themselves must develop higher standards. As it is, the political and selective faculty of the average voter is rudimentary. In many instances he does not apply even the simplest rules of honesty and efficiency in making his choice. Because a certain man is a genial fellow, or needs the place, or is supported by some personal friend, the citizen will blithely vote for him in the convention or primary, even though he is fully aware that personally he would not hire the man to drive

a delivery wagon and would not trust him with ten dollars except on mortgage security. The result is that not infrequently men attain offices paying large salaries and involving the handling of hundreds of thousands and even millions of dollars of public funds who could not obtain even the most mediocre position in a bank or mercantile house. And yet when such a man becomes a defaulter or shows himself notoriously incompetent in office the very men who voted for him, well knowing his lack of character or ability, raise their hands on high and pretend to wonder how it came about. Until citizens apply as searching tests to aspirants for public office as they do in selecting a guardian for their children we may expect mediocrity and malfeasance in public places to continue.

It is a well-known principle in physics that water can not attain a higher level than its source. In public life likewise the honesty and ability of an officer are not likely to rise above the average honesty and ability of his constituents. Voters really seem sometimes to resent being called on to vote for a man who is manifestly superior to themselves. Especially do they seem to resent thoroughgoing preparation in an educational way for official position. The old American view has been that any man is good enough to fill any office to which he can get elected and, though this rule has been weakened somewhat of late, its baleful effects are still existent. That it should be so is a sad commentary on human nature and intelligence. If the average man has a sick child he

usually prefers to seek a physician with good scientific training; if he has a case in court he wishes to be represented by an attorney learned in the law; but if an officer is to be chosen to manage the business of a whole community—involving not merely financial affairs but perhaps in the last analysis the health and welfare of thousands—the same man too often prefers to vote for genial but incompetent Bill Armstrong, who may be no better than a saloon rounder, rather than to support competent, well-trained William Henderson, who happens to be a poor “mixer.”

A large number of citizens do not desire either efficient officials or efficient government. In a city this merchant has a sign which hangs in a way prohibited by ordinance; another's front entrance encroaches on the sidewalk; saloon-keepers and brewers do not want the closing ordinances enforced too rigorously; managers of houses of prostitution also prefer an “open town”; the public service corporations dislike too much vigor in the city hall—these and a hundred other selfish interests work together in a conscious or unconscious alliance and often manage to influence enough really well-meaning citizens to enable them to control the politics of the town.

For half a century practically every citizen of New York City has been aware that Tammany Hall is a corrupt organization which has been out for public plunder, and yet during most of the time Tammany

has ruled the city. Even when its malfeasance has smelled highest to heaven there have been tens and hundreds of thousands of citizens who would support it at the polls. The only conclusion that can be drawn from such a state of affairs is that, most of the time, a majority of the citizens of the second largest city in the world either desired crooked government or else did not care enough for good government to vote for it.

Evil influences often win by taking advantage of the well-meaning citizen's party prejudices. Parties are an inevitable accompaniment of our political system, a coordinating influence with which we can scarcely dispense; loyalty to party is natural enough and, to a certain extent, perhaps commendable; but loyalty to the extent of blind partizanship is one of the greatest vices of our citizenship. In the early centuries of Christianity when fanatical zeal for disputed doctrines ran high delegates to councils at which the creed of the Church was to be decided would sometimes take a solemn oath before setting out from home that no matter how convincingly their opponents might set forth the opposing view they would regard the arguments as inspired by the Prince of Darkness and would not be convinced. A similar situation exists in American politics, and the results are disastrous. The party fetish blinds the eyes of men, causing them to vote for candidates they know to be incompetent or even dishonest rather than violate

party regularity by supporting a good candidate on another ticket. The voter who never "scratches" is grist to the boss's mill.

Even when they choose an able officer voters are frequently so short-sighted that they fail to appreciate his services, with the result that he soon gives way to some other man of not half his abilities. For this state of affairs the theory of rotation in office is largely responsible. In many sections the belief prevails that an office is "a good thing" that ought to be passed around, and in every section there are at least some people who hold this view. Such a theory is fatal to efficient government. If a man is capable and honest, the training he receives in one term of office ought to make him more efficient in another term. In some positions, in fact, a man can really accomplish little during his first term, for most of his time must be devoted to "learning the ropes." This is especially true of the position of Congressman, yet many western districts rarely return the same man twice. There are, however, notable exceptions to this rule, and some men have served in Congress either as Senators or Representatives for ten, twenty, thirty or even forty years.

An honest, able, wise public servant is a pearl beyond all price and should be appreciated as such. When a business man secures the services of a particularly capable clerk he does not dismiss him after two years or four years in order to give a raw man a trial; neither do universities nor railroads nor banks

nor corporations follow the rule of rotation. Why should a city or a state or the nation follow such a foolish rule?

No sillier proposal has been made in recent years than that a constitutional amendment should be passed limiting the tenure of the President to a single term. Many people doubt whether any really good reason exists to-day for limiting the tenure to two terms. In the beginning, when the Republic was not yet well established, it was perhaps wise for Washington to set the example of moderation in office holding, but the necessity for any such limitation is now long past. As long as the American people are fit for self-government they will not permit any man to set himself up as a tyrant over them. If a despot ever does gain control it will be because we have degenerated to the point where we are not deserving of anything better. When the nation has a leader pre-eminently fitted to govern wisely and well no reason exists why, if the people desire it, he should not be retained for eight years as well as four, or sixteen years as well as eight. The only valid ground for opposing reelection is that the incumbent of the presidential office may misuse his power to secure his reelection, but he may do this as easily in seeking a second term as in seeking a third.

Citizens are often slow to appreciate the value of good service and fail to rally as they should to the support of a public servant who is battling in their interest. Because of this many a public man has

found the honest road a discouraging one. Let us suppose that an important matter comes up for decision concerning which the general public knows little, though its interest demands that the official should say, "No"; while a selfish coterie wish him to say, "Yes." He realizes that if he fulfills his trust and says, "No," comparatively few citizens will have any knowledge of the fact, and still fewer will remember it on election day. For the citizen's memory of benefits received is short. The official is also keenly aware—and is probably warned of the fact—that if he defies the ring he will incur the bitter enmity of a powerful though secret influence and henceforth will be marked for slaughter. For the memory of such men is long. If he is not a very strong man he is apt to say to himself: "What's the use? The people do not care and will leave me to these wolves." And he says, "Yes." Is he wholly to blame? Or should some of the blame fall on the shoulders of the indifferent constituents?

A particularly striking and pathetic case illustrative of the situation just discussed is related by Theodore Roosevelt in his *Autobiography*. The incident occurred thirty years ago when Roosevelt was a member of the New York legislature, but conditions in this respect have not much changed. In that legislature, on the Democratic side, sat a bright, ardent, well-educated young fellow named Peter Kelly. Though a struggling lawyer, with a wife and chil-

dren to support, he would not do the corrupt bidding of the bosses of his party, and they refused him a renomination. He appealed to the people, but the people were indifferent and he was defeated. The end of the story is thus told by Colonel Roosevelt:

“Defeat to me would have meant only chagrin; to Kelly it meant terrible material disaster. He had no money. Like every rigidly honest man, he had found that going into politics was expensive, and that his salary as assemblyman did not cover the financial outgo. He had lost his practice and he had incurred the ill will of the powerful, so that it was impossible at the moment to pick up his practice again; and the worry and disappointment affected him so much that shortly after election he was struck down by sickness. Just before Christmas some of us were informed that Kelly was in such financial straits that he and his family would be put out into the street before New Year. This was prevented by the action of some of his friends who had served with him in the legislature, and he recovered, at least to a degree, and took up the practice of his profession. But he was a broken man. In the legislature in which he served one of his fellow-Democrats from Brooklyn was the Speaker—Alfred C. Chapin, the leader and the foremost representative of the reform Democracy, whom Kelly zealously supported. A few years later Chapin, a very able man, was elected Mayor of Brooklyn on a reform Democratic ticket. Shortly after his election I was asked

to speak at a meeting in a Brooklyn club at which various prominent citizens, including the Mayor, were present. I spoke on civic decency, and toward the end of my speech I sketched Kelly's career for my audience, told them how he had stood up for the rights of the people of Brooklyn, and how the people had failed to stand up for him, and the way he had been punished, precisely because he had been a good citizen who acted as a good citizen should act. I ended by saying that the reform Democracy had now come into power, that Mr. Chapin was Mayor, and that I very earnestly hoped recognition would at least be given to Kelly for the fight he had waged at such bitter cost to himself. My words made some impression, and Mayor Chapin at once said that he would take care of Kelly and see that justice was done him. I went home that evening much pleased. In the morning, at breakfast, I received a brief note from Chapin in these words: 'It was nine last evening when you finished speaking of what Kelly had done, and when I said that I would take care of him. At ten last night Kelly died.' He had been dying while I was making my speech and he never knew that at last there was to be a tardy recognition of what he had done, a tardy justification for the sacrifices he had made. The man had fought, at heavy cost to himself and with entire disinterestedness, for popular rights, but no recognition for what he had done had come to him from the people, whose interest he had so manfully upheld."

III

The average citizen is not only careless in his choice of public men and neglectful in supporting them; he is also apt to be criminally indifferent to most or all public affairs. It is in the atmosphere of indifference that corrupt bosses and their creatures thrive, and they realize it and even admit it. One evening some years ago the author chanced to have a conversation with a lieutenant of an unscrupulous political leader in one of our largest cities. He was a genial fellow ordinarily, and on this occasion a few of the cups that cheer had mellowed him into volubility. The talk was of politics and of reformers, and presently he became confidential. Said he:

"I'm a grafter. I wouldn't admit it publicly, but you know it anyhow, so I'll just admit it. All of our bunch are out after the dough. Sometimes reformers wonder why we have our way most of the time. I'll tell you. The average voter is on the job one day in the year—election day—and then he doesn't know what's best for him. We know exactly what we want, and we're on the job *three hundred and sixty-five days and nights in the year. Of course we win.*"

Truer words were never spoken. A whole volume of scientific analysis might fail to give so accurate and forcible an explanation of the greatest weakness in our politics as does this one short speech. Eternal vigilance is indeed the price of liberty, but it is a

price which comparatively few Americans are willing to pay. If the citizens of the country could be roused from their lethargy and persuaded to take as intelligent and wide-spread an interest in government as they do in baseball the general average of governmental efficiency would be raised fifty per cent. But the task of rousing them is one of the most difficult in the whole sphere of human activities. It is like preaching to the dead. Only some unusual encroachment by the "invisible government" will awaken them, and even then their knowledge of conditions that produced the existing situation is often so vague that they are likely to act blindly and foolishly, and then to subside into the old lethargy before reform is accomplished.

When one realizes the full extent of this public indifference one is apt to pause and wonder that we have not come to absolute grief long ago. But there is an old saying that "there is a special providence which cares for drunken men and the United States." The special providence in this case consists of the fact that the self-appointed guardians who have stepped in and taken over the careless citizen's functions which he has failed to exercise are often not so bad as they are painted. This book is not written in defense of the professional politician, but the devil should be given his due. With the exception of those belonging to corrupt rings in certain cities and states, politicians as a class are about like people in many other professions. They have their faults, and also their virtues. Their ideals of public service are likely to be lower than

those of a professor of political science, but they understand human nature and also actual government better; their language is apt to be less grammatical than that of a professor of English, but they often have a wider outlook on real life. Many of them even love their country in their own way, and would no more think of selling her to a foreign foe than they would of failing to give their services to a public service corporation on promise of a heavy contribution to the campaign fund. Some of them will filch like Fagin from the public purse, but they will insist that the police do their duty against the Fagins who try to filch from private pockets. Their dishonesty, as a rule, is rather a lack of high ideals than actual moral depravity. Even when they are dishonest they are usually wise enough to remember the fable of the greedy man who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs, and think it better to be content with moderate rewards than to rouse a public indignation that would sweep them temporarily from power. It is this moderation, joined with some real ability to manage public affairs, which enables us to prosper under the guardianship of politicians—this and the fact that a great country, like a rhinoceros, can thrive and grow fat and lusty even when preyed on by a multitude of parasites.

A condition that contributes greatly to popular indifference toward public matters is the frequency with which people move from place to place. Americans are hardly more static in this respect than are the

Arabs. The census of 1910 shows that twenty-one and seven-tenths per cent. of the population were not born in the state in which they were then residing, and it is probable that as many more, perhaps an even larger number, although inhabiting their native state, are not residing in the locality in which they were born. Nor are most such people content with one change of residence. They are as migratory as the birds. With many persons mobility is a necessary concomitant of their business or occupation, but with more it seems a result of instinct—perhaps a sort of heritage of unrest handed down from pioneer or immigrant ancestors. Few Americans live in the same house or even on the same plot of ground where their forefathers dwelt, and when they do happen to do so, the fact is likely to occasion surprise. The author himself has noticed that when he chanced to remark that he resides on land entered by his great-grandfather almost a century ago he has often been regarded as relating something out of the ordinary. But he feels that he ought to admit having lived in five states, and hence claims no merit as a contributor to the static average of American population.

Change of residence is usually demoralizing to a citizen's sense of civic responsibility. If his stay in a given place is likely to prove transitory he is apt to think that it is hardly worth his while to trouble himself with the public affairs of the community. "I shall probably not be here more than a year or two," he argues to himself. "Before I can really understand

the situation I shall be moving on. Let those who live here permanently look after such things. If I expected to be here the rest of my life I should try to get this sidewalk mended, or that street improved, and help see to it that we have good councilmen and a competent mayor. By the way, I wonder who is the councilman for this ward, anyway, and what's the number of the ward?"

In places where a large proportion of the population feel that they are merely "camping out"—and there are thousands of such places—any high development of community interest is impossible. A few citizens may be public-spirited enough to devote time and attention to public affairs with no selfish motive other than the entirely laudable one of their individual interest in the welfare of the place as a whole: but the majority have no desire, nor have they sufficient knowledge of one another, to work effectively together. So the management of public affairs falls into the hands of a knot of selfish politicians.

IV

Undoubtedly the level of our citizenship is ~~very~~ lower than it otherwise would be ~~in the enormous~~ influx of immigrants. Most of them were well ~~many~~ of them are intelligent, ~~some of them contribute to~~ the betterment of our public life: and yet as a whole they are a drag to ~~good government~~. I could not be otherwise, and the only wonder is that they have

not harmed us more than they have. Hundreds of thousands are wholly illiterate; many of these and more hundreds of thousands besides come from countries where there is little or no participation by the people in governmental affairs. It is utterly impossible that in five years, the length of time required for citizenship (and some states confer the ballot after a yet shorter interval), the average immigrant can become properly equipped to exercise the franchise intelligently—even as intelligently as the ordinary American of native birth, low as that average is. His best friends often admit that as a citizen the immigrant usually leaves much to be desired. Of the Slovak a friendly critic, Professor Edward A. Steiner, has this to say in his book, *On the Trail of the Immigrant*:

“As yet he is not a factor politically, though the political ‘boss’ finds him the best kind of material, for he is bought and sold without knowing it, and votes for he knows not whom. At Braddock, Pennsylvania, it was told to me that he is sold first to the Democrats and then to the Republicans, and afterwards is naive enough to come back to the Democrats and tell of his bargain, willing to be bought back again into his political family. Like almost all foreigners, he is a Democrat by instinct or by association, one scarcely knows which, although he is usually anything that a drink of liquor makes him. I asked one his political faith, ‘Are you a Democrat?’ ‘No, me Catholic—Greek, not Russian,’ was the reply. ‘What are your politics?’ I asked a number. ‘Slovak’ was the in-

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variable answer. Not twenty per cent. of those interviewed knew the name of our President, not two per cent. the governor of the state in which they were residing. The Slovak does not know the meaning of the word citizen, and the limited franchise in Hungary is exercised for him by those shrewder than himself; he is just force and muscle, with all the roots of his heart in the little village across the sea, and with his brain wherever the stronger brain leads him."

A bad state of political morality is, of course, not confined to places where a large percentage of immigrants reside. In localities where the greater part of the blood is American, of a vintage at least as early as 1800, corruption often exists, as Adams County, Ohio, where one-fourth of the voters were disfranchised not long ago, bears discouraging witness. Yet the fact remains that Pennsylvania, New York, San Francisco, St. Louis and other places where misgovernment has been particularly rampant all contain a large population of recent foreign origin.

Yet another class whose united contribution fails to raise the general level of our public life remains to be enumerated, namely, the negro. There are, it is true, an increasing number of good negro citizens, men who would scorn a bribe, men who hate corruption and who labor patriotically for the welfare of their country. Yet any honest negro who knows the facts will admit that too many of the citizens of his race are deficient in political ideals. A large proportion of the negro vote is purchasable and lends itself

easily to the selfish schemes of designing men who have money with which to buy. In the South, as already pointed out, the negro has virtually been disfranchised, but in those northern cities where he resides in large numbers he is a stumbling-block in the path of good government.

V

The simple truth is that among a considerable number of American citizens, both native and foreign-born, both white and black, public opinion is non-existent, or existent in only the most rudimentary form. Most voters have a set of prejudices regarding men and measures, but even these prejudices are often not acquired by any independent exercise of the voter's own brain. A man is a protectionist or a free-trader because his father or grandfather was a protectionist or free-trader. When a new issue arises he accepts the dictum of his party leaders concerning it without ever troubling himself to make an independent investigation of his own as to the merits of the matter—that is, if he ever realizes that there is such an issue at all. Even many men who read largely and pride themselves on their fund of information are often as blindly subservient as the meekest sheep that ever followed a boss bell-wether along the pathway of partizanship.

The number of men in the average community, either urban or rural, who form independent judgments on

public affairs is smaller than would be generally believable. Some never have any opinions at all; others obtain their views from more active-minded friends or from their favorite newspaper. "Who shall I vote for?" is the almost universal cry at primaries in regard to all but the most important offices. When serving on primary boards, I have repeatedly had men come to me and say: "I don't know one of these men. I want to vote just as you voted." Any man who has done actual political work has many such experiences. In fact, on public matters a small coterie in each party—be it the Democratic party of Tammany Hall or some reform party—decides what shall be the party's attitude and the rank and file fall in behind their leaders. It must be so, else there would be no uniformity of views, no cohesion. With the average man party regularity has acquired the force and horse-power of a superstition.

And yet the situation is more encouraging than formerly. The proportion of men who take an intelligent interest in public affairs is undoubtedly much larger than it was a generation ago. Independent movements occasionally succeed, at least for a time; and politicians find it worth while to make a great show of appealing to the independent voter, while newspapers parade the fact of their "independence." Not only this, but the number of books devoted to a serious consideration of public questions is vastly greater than ever before, and these undoubtedly exercise some little influence at least.

Unfortunately the sources on which people must depend for their information regarding public questions are often polluted at their source. We are almost as badly in need of pure news as we are of pure food. It is notorious that many of our newspapers are owned by selfish business interests, and that the policy of many others is dictated by the business manager and not by the editor. No newspaper can prosper without advertising, and to secure it newspapers kowtow to the big advertisers. Some, in fact, are mere prostitutes, selling themselves shamelessly to the highest bidder. Even some of the news-gathering agencies color or suppress news, while now and again one even meets with a book that has secretly been put forth by a selfish interest. Happily this state of affairs is coming to be generally understood, and many readers discount what they see in a newspaper of the corrupt or partizan type. During the last decade the magazines—because more independent and because they often printed suppressed news—have exercised decidedly greater influence on public opinion than have the newspapers. And yet there is reason to believe that some magazines are not so independent as they once were. Certainly they are not so clean.

The magnitude attained by the Progressive party is perhaps the most striking manifestation of the breaking down of the party fetish and the development of individual opinion. Be the movement right or wrong, the willingness of over four million voters to cast off party affiliations and reject the candidates and plat-

forms put forward by the old parties constituted an impressive spectacle. And yet of those four millions many did not actually think the thing out for themselves. They followed friends and popular leaders.

The ideal citizen body would be one in which every individual kept as careful and intelligent a watch over public affairs as he does over his private business. Every such citizen would have his own opinions as to how the government should be conducted, yet would not be too obstinate in his views on questions not involving conscience or morality. For men must work together to achieve results. This is why parties have a real excuse and basis for being. They are, or should be, combinations of like-minded persons associated together for the accomplishment of a common purpose.

Such a citizen would take an active part in public affairs, and if the call to leadership came, he would not for selfish reasons decline it. But the question he would ask himself would be: "What can I put into politics?" Not as is usually the case to-day: "What can I get out of politics?"

As a practical proposition, however, we may as well resign the hope that, at least at present, the great body of our citizens will perform their public duties much more energetically than formerly. Except in times of crisis or great excitement they will leave the management of their affairs, much as in the past, to the political class. It is probable that until the millennium draws nigh there will always be such a class and that in ordinary times they will continue to rule

as hitherto. For in a popular government there must be leaders of some sort. If any one is inclined to doubt this let him go into some large popular assemblage in which there is no guiding hand and see how it flounders helplessly about like a ship that has lost her rudder. Such being the case, it is evident that the important thing is that the men in control shall be "leaders," not "bosses"; that they shall exercise their influence in behalf of the whole people and not in behalf of a few.

Therefore, though we should not cease trying to rouse the sleepers from their lethargy, we can often accomplish more in another way. Since it seems that there must be "bosses" or "leaders," why should not the really good citizens step forward and perform these functions? The task is by no means so difficult as it seems. Corrupt political rings usually control largely because honest men have failed to perform the function of leadership; once in power, they are likely to be somewhat jealous of their authority, and yet there are comparatively few communities in which any sincere man who is not a "mollycoddle" is not readily welcomed into the ranks of the active party workers. Such a man will perhaps be able to accomplish little at first, but as his acquaintance widens he can make his influence felt. If there be many like him they will ultimately control the political organization to which they belong and give to it its tone.

In the book of Genesis we are told that an ancient city was once destroyed because it lacked the saving

grace of ten righteous men within its gates. In our own country are many cities in evil case because they lack a few able, determined, public-spirited men willing to devote themselves to fighting the devil and his works. If such men will not come forward and assert themselves, then politics will remain, as is now often the case, in the hands of pimps, bartenders, procurers and third-rate lawyers, and we shall continue to lament our low civic standards.

Some of our institutions are undoubtedly defective. Where such is the case a remedy should be found and applied. But keen-sighted observers have long realized that the political millennium can not be brought about alone by changes of systems or the invention of cleverer governmental devices. With any complicated machine much depends on the men who operate it. In a thousand-mile race between a New England farmer and a Congo savage, the former driving faithful Dobbin hitched to a "one-hoss shay" and the latter a ten-thousand-dollar motor-car, most sensible men would prefer to put their money on the farmer and the shay. In affairs of government also much depends on the men behind the political machinery. The citizens of Mexico and various other Spanish-American states fail with constitutions some of which seem almost the last word in theoretical political science.

It is characteristic of human nature that we are slow to admit that the cause of failure lies in ourselves. If a tennis player meets defeat he is likely to inform you that the court was too soft for his style

of game, or that his racket strings were loose; if a hunter misses a partridge on the wing it is because his gun did not shoot "close" enough. For our failures in government we are wont to seek similar excuses.

We are too much inclined to lay the blame for misgovernment on faulty systems, when many of the causes lie deeper. No governmental device, however ingenious, can entirely neutralize ignorance or make up for the indifference which allows what is everybody's business to be nobody's business except the politician's. Better systems are needed, but, above all, a higher sense of righteousness and responsibility among the voters. A stream can not rise higher than its source, and thus far no political hydraulic ram which will raise the best stream of republican humanity into office has been devised. Before we can have any real regeneration in our governmental affairs there must be a regeneration of the American people. As David Starr Jordan has well remarked: "We can not expect society to be much better than it is now, so long as it is composed of such people as you and I."

Corruption in public life is largely a matter of imitation. "Everybody else is doing it; I might as well have mine," reasons the weak-willed man who perhaps has entered office with good intentions. It has been sadly demoralizing to the moral fiber of our whole people to see chicanery and fraud so often triumphant in politics and business, to see dishonesty at a discount and to realize that Machiavellian methods "get

there" and raise men to high places in the political and financial world.

A discouraging feature of the situation is that it takes forty, fifty or sixty years to develop a good citizen. If we could invent some way of making such citizens permanent fixtures all would soon be well. But they die in a day, and the process must all be gone over again. Thus each generation has its struggle to keep from lapsing toward barbarism, and if it advances even a little along the road of civilization it does well.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REVOLT OF THE WOMEN

I

ANY one who contemplates the large and constantly growing literature dealing with the position of woman is likely to conclude that the problem of her emancipation must be exceedingly difficult and complex. Yet the New Woman insists that it is not so at all. She contends that the only factor needed for its full solution is equal justice.

Justice is a commodity with which women have not been allowed to become very familiar in the past, and, except in a few favored localities, it is not accorded to them even now. Nor is the cause far to seek. The world for the most part has been run on the principle that might makes right, and reason has had all too little to do with it. It is true among animals; it is true also among men. One can easily observe the workings of the principle in the animal kingdom. Go, for instance, into any barnyard in which there are horned cattle and watch the strongest boss the weaker; the second strongest bosses all those beneath it; and so on down until you reach a poor scrawny weakling with sides scarred by repeated hookings and

with a discouraged, life-is-not-worth-living look in its eyes; but let a still weaker beast be introduced, and the former pariah will probably seize the opportunity to enact a bit of cruelty on its own account. Now Man in primitive society was an animal, and he retains many of the traits even yet; early woman, as the weaker animal of the two, suffered consequently from the working of the cruel law that force rules the world—force till right is ready. She was condemned to all the drudgery, and when her lord and master, Man, felt so inclined, he beat her with his fists or war club, and there was no Cop or Bobby to say him nay. Man fought, hunted, fished and sat about at ease; while his mate performed all the real work, built the rude shelters, gathered berries and nuts, brought in the game that had been killed, cared for the children, tanned the skins or wove clothing of bark and fiber and carried the household goods and perhaps some few weapons of her lord on the trail. Even to-day among savage peoples women are usually practically slaves. In New Britain, for example, they must do all the work, which is so hard that they become prematurely stooped; and if they offend their husbands they are in danger of being killed and eaten.

As society develops we find occasional instances of woman's getting the upper hand, but such instances are wholly exceptional, and the reverse is the rule. Even among the ancient Hebrews woman's lot was by no means enviable and she was obliged, among other humiliations, to share her husband's bed and

board with as many other wives as he was able to take unto himself—witness the case of Solomon in all his glory and wisdom! Among the Greeks man treated woman as his faithful slave, as “something better than his dog, a little dearer than his horse.” Reputable females led a secluded existence; only the Aspasiae were allowed to frequent cultivated society where men were present.

Of the ancient and medieval nations Rome undoubtedly displayed the broadest spirit in the matter of woman's rights. In the early period of the republic she lived under some severe restraints, but the position of a Roman matron was one of great respect, as the stories of the time show. Ultimately many of the old restrictions fell into disuse until, in the era of the Empire, woman enjoyed a freedom and influence as great as it has ever been at any period of the world's history unless it be the immediate present. Her power of disposing of her property was almost as great as that of man, care was taken to give her an education, she could divorce her husband at any time and under any pretext and she engaged in numerous business pursuits.

With the introduction of Christianity as the state religion the position of woman, strangely enough, became decidedly less favorable. Christ himself had had little to say regarding woman's social or legal status, but some of His apostles discussed the subject with greater freedom and in a reactionary manner, while the precepts of the Old Testament were re-

garded as still in force. Now the Old Testament was written by orientals, and the oriental opinion of woman has been almost uniformly a low one. According to the book of Genesis she was the cause of all humanity's woes, and her position in Hebrew society was much the same as in any eastern country where polygamy was practised. For woman's position during the last nineteen centuries a heavy responsibility rests on the Apostle Paul. His contempt for and hostility toward woman is revealed in many passages. He regarded celibacy as the better rule, assenting to the institution of marriage grudgingly and only as better than "to burn." Woman was the weaker vessel, condemned to "fear her husband," to remain silent in church; and if she would learn, she must ask her husband at home. Having been beguiled by the serpent and fallen into transgression, she might be saved by child-bearing, provided she continued "in faith and love and sanctification with sobriety." Timothy declared that "the man is not of the woman, but the woman for the man," while later church fathers generally emphasized her evil nature and her general dangerous character to such an extent that in the minds of holy and impeccable monks she took rank almost with the devil himself.

These notions regarding woman not only reacted on the later Roman law and on the customs of the Germanic invaders, among whom woman had hitherto been held in high esteem, but they affected the Canon Law as well. According to that law woman must obey

her husband, she must never cut off her hair, because God had "given it to her as a veil and as a sign of subjection"; she must not attempt to teach man publicly; her parents might dedicate her to God while she was a mere infant and on coming to maturity she had no recourse; during the marriage ceremony she must be veiled that she might know that she was lowly and in subjection to her husband. The Catholic church still insists on the subjection of woman to man, the head of the household and, of course, opposes woman's suffrage. Cardinal Gibbons has declared that "woman suffrage, if realized, would be a death-blow of domestic life and happiness." As there are more than thirteen million Catholics in the United States the attitude of that church on the suffrage question assumes considerable importance.

At the time of the first settlement of the United States the position of woman in England was neither extremely high nor extremely low. If a single woman of mature age, her legal rights were almost the same as those of a man, but she enjoyed no political rights and was at a great disadvantage in matters of inheritance. The married woman, however, was virtually under the domination of her husband, who enjoyed the right to chastise her for certain offenses even "with whips and clubs," a privilege of which many a brutal Briton took full advantage. The husband had an estate in any land belonging to his wife and might alienate it without her consent; he was also entitled to take possession of any movables belonging to her on

marriage or that might come to her subsequently and he could do with them as he thought fit. It was not, in fact, until the last half of the nineteenth century that Parliament abrogated the law giving the husband full ownership of his wife's property and restraining him from seizing her wages even after he had deserted her. As regards the marriage bond, the law was all with the husband, and no woman ever ventured to attempt to secure a divorce until 1801. Even to-day, although an Englishman can divorce his wife for adultery, a wife can not obtain a release because of her husband's infidelity unless it is aggravated by other offenses. The position of woman in England is, in fact, infinitely less favorable than in America, and this partly explains the more violent character of the suffrage agitation in that country.

II

Even in colonial times woman's position in America was undoubtedly better than in the England of the corresponding period, yet as late as 1848 the members of the first Woman's Rights Convention, held at Seneca, New York, felt impelled to declare that "the history of man is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her"; that he has never allowed her the right to share in the making of laws to which she must submit; that "he has made her, if married, in the

eyes of the law, civilly dead"; that "he has taken from her all her right in property, even to the wages she earns"; that in the covenant of marriage she is compelled to promise obedience to man as her master, "the law giving to him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement"; that the laws of divorce and guardianship of children are unfair to woman; that "he has monopolized nearly all profitable employments"; that he has excluded woman from the ministry; that he has given "to the world a different code of morals for men and women"; and that "he has endeavored, in every way he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life."

The woman's movement in America dates from this convention, and the declaration of independence there issued by such pioneers as Lucretia Mott, Mary A. McClintock, Martha C. Wright and Elizabeth Cady Stanton is destined to stand as one of the landmarks in world progress. It took courage in those days to engage in such a movement, for the prevailing attitude toward the idea of "a true position of equality" was one of derision. The newspapers headed their accounts with such phrases as "Reign of Petticoats," "Insurrection Among the Women," and declared that the convention had been organized by "divorced wives, childless women, and sour old maids"; and it is well known that ridicule is harder to fight than force. It is significant of the prevailing status of woman that

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a large proportion of them joined in the gale of laughter at the expense of their own sex, and to persuade such women to take the movement seriously was to require generations of educational work—a task not yet completed.

A new source of amusement was soon added in the shape of the crusade for dress reform, launched by Amelia Bloomer, who appeared at a subsequent Boston convention clad in gaiters, loose Turkish trousers, a skirt reaching to the knees, and a short jacket. The absurdity, the practical criminality of long skirts and corsets was even then patent to some sensible persons; but “the bifurcated costume,” sensible though it was, proved too much for the risibilities of the country, and this reform was actually beaten by ridicule. Some slight dress reforms have since been accomplished, but generation after generation still follow fashions dictated by persons who have a financial interest in making woman’s dress as complicated and expensive as possible and who, to add to their profits, are careful to change fashions at frequent intervals, though rarely in the direction of the sensible.

Ridicule could not, however, prevent determined women from pressing forward with other reforms designed to improve the condition of their sex. Nor have their efforts been fruitless. Gradually the discriminations against woman have disappeared from the statute books until in some states the two sexes stand on an exact equality, while in certain others the differences are comparatively unimportant. In

many, however, women, and particularly married women, are still at a disadvantage in property matters, lack legal authority over their children and are denied the suffrage.

The progress made by woman in less than a hundred years is almost magical. At the beginning of the nineteenth century her higher education was almost totally neglected, and it was not until 1821 that Troy Seminary, the first institution for her higher education that was aided by government funds, was founded. Twelve years later Oberlin College, the first co-educational college, opened its doors. Mount Holyoke was established in 1836, and Vassar in 1865. Even as late as 1870 the number of women students in colleges was infinitesimal. To-day more than one hundred institutions devote their entire time to such students; there are about three hundred and fifty co-educational institutions of higher learning, including most of the great western colleges and state universities; and even conservative Harvard and Columbia make provision for women students. In 1911 about sixty-five thousand women and girls were attending higher institutions of learning, and eight thousand women, in round numbers, received degrees.

Dire prophecies of the dissolution of family ties were indulged in when women began to dip into the higher branches, and yet the world still manages to wag on. Higher education doubtless proves a failure in the case of some women just as in the case of some men, but the general results are plus to such an

overwhelming extent as to leave no room for argument. And as for marriage, it would be a strange man who would prefer the awkward anemic girl of two generations ago, with no thoughts except of *Kleider, Küche, Kirche und Kinder*, to the dashing creature, physically developed by hockey, basket-ball and tennis, aware of what is going on in the great world, and gloriously alive bodily and mentally. Some college women, to be sure, do not marry, largely, perhaps, because they do not find men who measure up to their ideal, but a very great many do. And those who do are not afraid of having children, either. If any reader doubts it, let him read the alumni notes in such a college publication as *Tipyn O'Bob* at Bryn Mawr. He will think he is perusing the vital statistics in a newspaper!

In 1840 Harriet Martineau found only seven employments open to women in the United States, namely, household service, teaching, needlework, type-setting, keeping boarders, working in book binderies and cotton mills. When Elizabeth Blackwell, of New York, desired to study medicine in 1846 she could find only one medical school that would admit her. Not until 1852 was any woman ordained to the ministry, though in the Quaker and Shaker sects women had been permitted to exhort. The first woman to be admitted to the bar in the period since the Revolution was Arabella A. Mansfield, in 1869, but it is said that a certain Mistress Brut had practised in Baltimore as early as 1647.

. At present twenty per cent. of the persons engaged in manufacturing industries are females of sixteen or over, and there is hardly an occupation from that of preaching the gospel to that of keeping bar into which woman has not penetrated. It has been estimated that in 1909 there were about 2,000 women journalists, 3,500 preachers, 7,000 doctors, besides great numbers in teaching, the civil service, commerce and other pursuits. Primary education is almost monopolized by women.

Unfortunately not all of this seeming progress represents a real advance. The growth of the vast army of women breadwinners has brought with it many difficult problems which press for solution, and it is partly in order to accomplish such reforms that women are demanding the suffrage.

III

A recent writer on woman suffrage classifies the main arguments against it under the following heads: the theological, the physiological, the social or political, the intellectual and the moral. The theological argument is based on the Biblical conception of the evil nature of woman and of the subordinate position assigned to her by some of the apostles. With Catholics and with those Protestants who take all parts of the Scriptures absolutely literally this argument, of course, weighs heavily, but many people merely dismiss it with a smile. The physiological

argument is in part historical in nature. It is asserted that in the past, in matters of dispute, men broke one another's heads; now heads are counted, and the side having the largest number wins. Woman, being weaker physically, is unfitted for war, hence she should not be allowed to participate in the substitute for war—voting. But advocates of equal suffrage retort that some women, such as Boadicea and Joan of Arc, have been warriors; and they point out that crippled, blind and aged men, utterly unfit for fighting, are allowed the ballot and that hence this argument falls to the ground. According to the social or political argument, there must be some one in authority in each household, and if woman is put on an equal plane with man, discord will result in the home. Suffragists reply that marriage should be a partnership between equals and that neither man nor woman should dominate. Opponents return to the charge by alleging that a majority of women do not desire to vote, that if the women do secure the ballot they will plunge into politics and neglect their children and homes, that politics will degrade them and cause them to lose refinement and that in becoming independent they will win a province only to lose a kingdom. The argument of woman's alleged intellectual inferiority is also made much of. It is contended that women are generally ignorant of public affairs and would be unable to vote intelligently, that the good woman would avoid so rough a game and that disreputable women would be active. Finally, under the moral head, come such

arguments as that women are too easily swayed by their emotions to fit them for holding office or exercising the suffrage and that they should leave such work to their sterner fathers, brothers and husbands.

What are the real facts regarding these matters?

Eleven states—Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Kansas, Nevada and Montana—have conferred full suffrage rights on woman, while Illinois has given her the right to vote for presidential electors and for certain city and town officers. In some of these states the custom is old enough for us to be able tentatively at least to judge its results. Wyoming and Utah inaugurated woman's suffrage as territories more than forty years ago,* and readopted it when they became states in 1890 and 1895. Colorado and Idaho followed in 1893 and 1896. How has the suffrage worked in these states? It may be said at the outset that the women have not perfected any of them to the point where it is ready for the millennium, but neither has equal suffrage produced the disastrous results so frequently prophesied. None of these states, nor any of the others which have adopted equal suffrage, seem inclined to return to the old system, and an investigation conducted in Colorado after twelve years' experience shows that a decidedly larger percentage of men now favor it than when it was first adopted. Politics has not broken up families, or

* Congress in 1887 withdrew the privilege in Utah.

at least not often, and neither have many women neglected their households to go round playing the politician. Indifference to public affairs is often displayed by women voters, but a great many earnestly endeavor to keep themselves informed; and it is notable that when a moral question is at stake they are apt to turn out in full force. Instead of their meeting with insults on election day their presence at the polls has tended to make elections quieter and more respectable. Two investigators who watched the voting in San Francisco in 1912 confess that they expected to see something "lively" but that "what we saw was tame as a church service. As we passed from poll to poll we found no excitement whatever, nothing militant, nothing unladylike. We saw instead quiet women working quietly for the good of their homes and city and country." As a rule, women of the street have taken a smaller part than even suffragist advocates had feared. One reason is that activity on their part in behalf of a candidate does him more harm than good, while another is that they usually ply their trade under assumed names and dislike to have to register under their real names, the result being that many refrain from voting altogether.

Personally I am inclined to believe that the arguments regarding woman's unfamiliarity with public affairs and her indifference to them are the only ones that require serious consideration. It is idle to say that woman is already represented by male repre-

sentatives when hundreds of thousands have no such relatives living or, if living, are persons wholly out of intellectual sympathy with them. It is absurd to advance the intellectual argument and defend a system which admits an illiterate negro or hillbilly to the polls while excluding an Ida Tarbell or a Carey Thomas. Woman's intellectual gifts vary somewhat from those of men, to be sure, but a rather varied experience in teaching college students of both sexes convinces me that woman surpasses man in about as many respects as those in which she falls below him. Nevertheless it is true that at present most women are profoundly ignorant of public questions and are indifferent toward them, and as ignorance and indifference toward such matters are already the greatest vices of our citizenship the admission of a mass of ignorance and indifference is a serious matter. Still, the argument is not conclusive. It is unquestionable that under equal suffrage woman's ignorance tends to disappear and her interest to increase. In many intellectual matters women are already taking a greater interest than are men, and it is reasonable to suppose that in time they will approximate men in their understanding of public questions. Owing to their lack of practical knowledge of the world, some women will doubtless be for a time easily misled by smooth-tongued and designing politicians; but ultimately they, or at least their daughters, will learn to discriminate. For the woman of the future will not be the cloistered creature of the past, and by contact with the world she

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will obtain a touchstone with which to tell the true from the false.

As regards positive results, it is beyond doubt that the participation of women in government has tended to the betterment of women and children and of moral conditions generally. In the suffrage states the women have *mothered* and secured the passage of a long series of measures designed to further social justice, to drive out prostitution and to abate the liquor traffic.* Saloon-keepers and men of notably bad character have been largely kept out of office, for it has been found that women are less inclined to respect the party label than are men and that they will not vote for such candidates. On the other hand, some men of good character have been retained in office, notwithstanding the efforts of powerful evil influences to retire them. A notable instance is Judge Ben Lindsey of the Denver juvenile court, whose opportunity for useful service is due in large part to the support given him by women voters.

Both in the suffrage states and elsewhere women have done much to secure more stringent laws for safeguarding girls by raising the so-called "age of consent." Until about thirty years ago the limit set in most states was unbelievably low, being in Delaware only *seven* years! In most of the suffrage states the age is fixed at eighteen, while in California it is twenty-one, and in only two of these states is it as low

* See "What Women Have Done with the Vote," by George Creel, in *The Century Magazine* for March, 1914, page 663.

as sixteen. In Georgia and North Carolina the age is set by statute at only ten years, in Mississippi it is twelve, and in a number of other non-suffrage states it is fourteen.

It does not need much of a prophet to foretell what the near future has in store politically for American women. Suffrage amendments have just been adopted in Montana and Nevada and the vote in Nebraska on the proposition was very close. Eastward resistlessly the course of suffrage takes its way. In a few ultra-conservative states, unless an amendment to the federal Constitution is secured, the women may be kept from voting for a comparatively long time, but of the ultimate result there exists not the slightest doubt. The suffragist forces are well organized and magnificently led by such women as Jane Addams, Antoinette Funk, Mrs. Belmont, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Carrie Chapman Catt, Doctor Anna Shaw and a host of others. They are feebly opposed by anti-suffragist women and more efficiently by many respectable people of a conservative turn of mind and by certain great sinister interests, such as the exploiters of child and woman labor and of the white slave, and by the liquor power, which last secured the defeat of the amendment in Michigan recently.

But the game is well within the hands of the suffragists. They have only to play their cards. The electoral votes of the twelve suffragist states, in which the women hold the balance of power, number ninety, or more than one-sixth of the whole, enough to turn the

scale in most elections and a prize which the politicians of all parties will covet. The Progressives have already declared for the suffrage, and it is not improbable that both the old parties will soon find it expedient to do likewise. It is true that President Wilson, in reply to a delegation of suffragists, refused to use his influence in behalf of the movement, alleging in excuse that his party had not committed itself on the subject, but he did not say he was opposed to the reform, and it is conceivable that he and other Democratic leaders may see a great light before the next presidential election.*

Probably many persons already in middle life will live to see the last relic of woman's political inequality swept from the statute books. The present is a time of fruition for many reforms long planted, and in no realm is this more true than in that of woman's rights. The work begun long ago by the determined Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and other pioneers of a cause not then *fashionable* is about to be crowned with final success. Of William Lloyd Garrison it has often been said that he began a movement which freed a race; these women began a movement which freed a sex.

IV

We may be sure that women will not stop at enfranchisement. They regard the ballot merely as a

* Since the above was first written Mr. Bryan has done so.

means, and they will use it to obtain a wider freedom. The unequal laws which are relics of the long ages when woman was regarded as a dependent creature will be repealed and replaced with statutes fulfilling the "principle of perfect equality, admitting of no power of privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other," long ago advocated by the justice-loving John Stuart Mill in his epoch-making essay on *The Subjection of Woman*.

Woman's part in the statecraft of the future will probably be most closely linked with moral measures, the welfare of the child, woman and the home. She will doubtless take some interest in other matters, but it is in these fields that she is best equipped and can be of greatest service. An observer of a recent

meeting of the American Woman Suffrage Association was struck by the fact that "the talk was almost invariably of the child, the boy and girl at school, the anemic worker in the mill, the white slave, the mutual responsibility of men and women." Woman will help to improve educational conditions, to banish war and child labor, to secure shorter hours and better working conditions for women and girl breadwinners, to regulate divorce, to abolish white slavery and its frequent ally the liquor power and to establish a single standard for both sexes. Nor will that standard be established by lowering woman's morals to man's level, as some writers have assumed, but by raising man's moral level toward that of woman.

Time will be required for all these things, and some

of the solutions will be imperfect, for the great facts of human nature can not be changed in a day or a century. Sexual morality, for example, can not be accomplished altogether by law, and we may be sure that there will always be weak women and weak men. Perhaps in some respects moral conditions may even change for the worse, but if so, it will not be because of woman's suffrage but in spite of it. As our population increases the struggle for existence will become more and more bitter, and one result is apt to be an increasing number of men and women economically unable to undertake the financial burdens of family life. In other countries such conditions are usually accompanied by an increase in illicit relations between the sexes. It will be for the American men and women of the future to find a remedy for this impending problem. Undoubtedly one way to postpone it would be to prohibit further immigration, which tends, of course, to congestion of population and closer competition for laborers.

Some enemies of the emancipation movement profess to fear that it portends the suppression of marriage and the substitution of free alliance, with a consequent development of a new form of matriarchate, in which the mother will be the head of the family. Now and then one meets with circumstances that lend color to the charge. For example, an English writer, W. L. George, in a recent number of *The Atlantic Monthly* says: "Two cases have come to my knowledge where English women have been

prepared to contract alliances with men with whom they did not intend to pass their lives—this because they desired a child. They consider that the child is the expression of the feminine personality, while after the child's birth, the husband becomes a mere excrescence." But cases such as these are altogether exceptional, and are merely indicative of the absurd extremes to which a few people connected with any great movement will go. A moment's thought will convince any one that men have more temptation to destroy the family than have women, and yet they have not used their predominance to do so. Women will no doubt strive to make themselves freer economically in order to save themselves from the hateful bonds of loveless marriages, but where they now have the suffrage they are usually found fighting for a stricter enforcement of the existing moral code. The emancipation of women may possibly have some undesirable results, but we may safely conclude that the destruction of the family will not be among them.

The transition of women from the position of subordination to that of full equality will not, of course, be accomplished without some shock. It would be unreasonable to expect that women will enter on their new duties and privileges without making mistakes, or that the change will not in some instances produce friction between the sexes. When a man who holds the old view of woman's place in the scheme of things marries one of the new women a clash is certain unless one of them modifies his or her view. The ultimate

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solution, of course, is the view of each as an equal partner in a relation in which each complements the other.

And there are enduring facts which no legislation can change. Woman's activities and place, after all, are largely determined by the fact of sex, though to a lesser degree than is often maintained. To a majority wifehood and motherhood will be during a large part of life the great vocation, but we may safely predict that the number of women who will wed only a career will increase rather than diminish. Virtually every business and profession will be open to such as these and, with added experience, such women will win greater successes than in the past. Yet probably the majority of women will continue managers of pots, pans and pantry. There will be work, disagreeable work, just as before, but there will be a wider outlook also. Women will read more, study more, travel more and live a broader life. Of work, if they be true women, they will be unafraid, for they will realize that no healthy man or woman justifies his or her creation and existence who does not do something for the benefit of family or of society at large. Of all creatures, the human parasite is most contemptible. "No drones and no drudges" is a good platform for either sex.

It was the opinion of John Stuart Mill that the legal subordination of one sex to the other was the chief hindrance to human development. The removal of this hindrance will have beneficial results as yet

hardly claimed even by the advocates of woman's rights themselves. Consider, for example, the important hereditary effects likely to result from the fact that in future both parents will be free and intelligent beings instead of merely one. Think of the contribution that women can make to the world's advance! "No civilization," says Professor Thomas in his book on *Sex and Society*, "can remain the highest if another civilization adds to the intelligence of its men the intelligence of its women."

That in some respects the results of enfranchisement will prove disappointing is altogether probable, but its advocates hold that even if government becomes neither better nor worse because of it, the work will have been worth while. They believe that it will be a triumph to have wiped out an age-long injustice and to have secured the victory of reason over force. In their eyes Tennyson summed it all up long ago in the oft-quoted lines:

"The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free:
If she be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How shall men grow?"

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL TENDENCIES

I

It is an interesting fact well known to physicists that perfectly still water will sometimes reach a temperature below the freezing point without congealing. But let a sudden shock be given and, presto, the water will at once be transformed into ice.

Similar phenomena have occasionally revealed themselves in American politics. A notable instance occurred in the year 1854. There were then two great parties, Whigs and Democrats, the latter being in power. The real issue of the day was slavery, but both parties had pro-slavery and anti-slavery wings, and both avoided committing themselves definitely on either side as carefully as does a purse-straitened debtor avoid his creditors.

The acquisition of new territory from Mexico in 1848 almost brought on the inevitable crisis. Many Whigs and many Democrats worked for David Wilmot's famous "Proviso" to keep slavery out of new territory, but by mighty efforts both Whig and Democratic leaders managed to preserve party solidarity, and the Proviso failed. The veteran Clay

rallied the last of his waning physical strength and, with the aid of Webster's eloquence, carried through the last of his famous compromises. That compromise was unsatisfactory to radicals on both sides of the great question. Southern extremists like Calhoun, Davis, Toombs and Quitman denounced it as a surrender of southern rights and threatened a dissolution of the Union; northern statesmen with free-soil sympathies protested against the Fugitive Slave Law, which was a part of the compromise, as contrary to "the law of nature, written on the hearts and consciences of freemen." The Whig Seward foresaw the inevitable political readjustment. "The foundations of both the great parties are too narrow," he declared, "for they are laid in compromises of natural justice and human liberty. A moral question, transcending the narrow creeds of parties, has arisen; the public conscience expands with it, and the green withes of party associations give way and break and fall before it."

Yet for four years the compromise served its purpose. In the political arena at least there was a lull in the conflict. Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law flared up, it is true, but presently subsided. The conservative old statesmen—the "stand-patters" of their time—had their way. In the hope of saving the Union and preserving party solidarity moderate men frowned on secessionist hotspurs and abolitionist orators alike. A political calm that was likened to the "era of good feeling under Monroe"

fell over the land. Short-sighted politicians congratulated themselves in the belief that Banquo's ghost had at last been put down for the count.

But a really vital issue can never be disposed of by compromise or by a conspiracy of silence. The differences between the free and the slave states still existed. Abolitionist sentiment, fed by the Fugitive Slave Law and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, continued to grow. Only a shock was needed to congeal the political atmosphere.

That shock was given by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, the redoubtable "Little Giant" from Illinois. In a moment of profound political peace when the lease of his party on power seemed good for a generation, he committed the monumental blunder of launching in Congress his Kansas-Nebraska Bill repealing the Missouri Compromise line of thirty-six degrees and thirty seconds and opening an area larger than all the free states then admitted to the influx of slavery. In defense of his measure Douglas invoked the principle of "squatter sovereignty" to the effect that the people of a territory should themselves decide whether they wanted slavery or freedom. In reality, the bill was a bold personal bid for southern support in the next presidential campaign.

The bill broke party ties and precipitated a new alignment. The "insurgents" of both parties in Congress were joined by hundreds of thousands of anti-Nebraska Whigs and Democrats, and the Republican party was founded. The Whig party disappeared.

Its southern members perforce joined the Democrats, while those in the North mostly turned Republicans or entered that evanescent organization called the Know-Nothings. Such Whig leaders as Sumner, Seward, Chase, Wade and Lincoln shared the Republican leadership with such Democrats as Nathaniel P. Banks, Lyman Trumbull, John C. Frémont and Oliver P. Morton.

Believers in the old saying that history repeats itself could find in recent events much justification for their theory. What wrecked the Whig party was the inability of its northern and southern wings to agree on the burning issue of slavery. Recently another great party has come to grief because its conservative and progressive wings could not agree on a working program regarding the industrial and social problems of the period. The temperature of public opinion had again become favorable to the formation of a new party, and when the needed shock was given a new party was crystallized. Its main strength came from the disrupted Republican party, but it also contained a considerable Democratic element and the reason why this was so is not difficult to discover.

For a long time an increasing number of voters had been growing dissatisfied with conditions in both the old parties. They were tired of the persistent stand-pat conservatism of certain leaders of the one, and distrustful of the talents and tenets of leaders of the other. They believed that neither party had shown a consistent determination to deal with the vital prob-

lems confronting the country, and they feared that no progress could be made by either party so long as it contained a powerful reactionary wing seemingly capable of blocking any real forward movement. They realized that old issues were dead or dying. They were beginning to regard party names as mere hobby-horses on which politicians rode into office. They had come to believe that there existed an "invisible government" exercising a sinister influence in behalf of a favored few against the interests of the many. Repeated questionable circumstances had led them to surmise that not infrequently ostensible party enemies were in reality secretly allied in a "bipartizan combine" whose influence was inimical to real popular government.

Public opinion had gone far in twenty years. When Henry D. Lloyd and others cried out against the dangers of wealth against commonwealth in the early nineties, their warnings for the most part fell on incredulous ears. Such talk might do for Socialists or Popocrats but was unworthy of the attention of intelligent, sensible men. But evidence bearing out the charges developed with such rapidity that in time many of the incredulous became convinced that all was not well with the state. The number of critics steadily increased both in numbers and authority. The "free-silver" uprising of 1896 was a manifestation of popular discontent with existing industrial and economic conditions, but the remedy proposed did not appeal to all who were beginning to believe that some-

thing ought to be done. Moreover, in 1896 the people were only half awakened to the nature of the crisis. Following the accession of McKinley in 1897 came a golden age of materialism in which the government was controlled by business interests. The Dingley Tariff Act and other measures of the time were far from being in the interest of the whole people. Hardly a day passed without the formation of a new trust. Wherever a semblance of monopoly could be secured a promoter stood ready to effect an organization, and a gullible public bought the watered securities of corporations organized for the purpose of taking advantage of the people who furnished money for their own undoing. Stock exchanges became bloated with "undigested" and "indigestible" securities. In 1903

investors began to discover how poorly performance matched promise, and their disillusionment, combined with the attitude of the Roosevelt administration, checked the wild rush to consolidation.

On taking the oath of office Theodore Roosevelt had announced that he would endeavor to continue his predecessor's policy, and yet his accession to power amounted to a political revolution. Although a scion of an old and wealthy family, his horizon was not bounded by any narrow class lines. Under the rule of Hanna and McKinley, if business men desired a thing they generally secured it. Roosevelt listened to business men, to be sure, but in many cases his decisions ran directly counter to their wishes. The doors of the White House swung as easily for the profes-

sional man or the day laborer as for the plutocrat. In Roosevelt's view an opinion did not weigh any more because ballasted with bags of gold. This attitude of mind greatly grieved certain business interests, and ultimately there developed a state of warfare between them and the President.

There is evidence to show that only gradually did Roosevelt become thoroughly awake to the economic and political tendencies of the times, but very early he took the view regarding combinations which, with amplifications, he still holds. Three views were possible: (1) the government might adopt the extreme laissez-faire theory and allow the trusts to work their own sweet will, unhindered and unchecked; (2) government ownership; (3) government control. President Roosevelt decided for government control, and in his first message to Congress he urged federal supervision of industrial combinations engaged in interstate trade and the enactment of legislation against railway rebates, which had proved so helpful in aiding the trusts to strangle weaker competitors. But his recommendations were not received with much enthusiasm in Congress, and it became apparent that Congress would do nothing unless forced to it by popular clamor.

But ultimately the President's efforts began to bear fruit. Anti-rebate laws were passed and vigorously enforced, and the practice was broken up. A department of commerce and labor with a bureau of corporations to collect information concerning interstate

commerce was created. A railway rate law was enacted enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and conferring on that body the power to fix a maximum, just and reasonable rate of transportation when the rate in force was complained of. Roosevelt failed to secure an act subjecting corporations doing interstate business to federal control, but an effective control was secured over railroads and suits were instituted against the most flagrant violators of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. On his retirement much detail work remained to be done, but the revolution in public sentiment toward political and financial matters had been accomplished.

Not least of his accomplishments, President Roosevelt had turned his party—a large section against its will—out of the reactionary rut into which it had fallen into the progressive highway and by so doing had given it a new lease of power. The party enjoyed the confidence of the people. It had a large majority in both houses of Congress. Its future seemed secure.

The task of Roosevelt's successor was to gather up the fruits of an already accomplished victory. William H. Taft was nominated and elected because Theodore Roosevelt believed him to be the proper man for the work. The candidate had, to be sure, the financial assistance of a wealthy family behind him, but had the money expended by the Taft family been multiplied tenfold it would have availed little without the decisive favor of the retiring president, whose influence

with the rank and file of his party was so strong that they were willing to accept his recommendation. An anecdote of the day well illustrates what is undoubtedly a truth of history. Said a Yale man (Taft is a Yale alumnus) to a graduate of Harvard (Roosevelt's alma mater): "This is a Yale year; we've got the President." "Yes," retorted the other, "but he had splendid Harvard *interference*."

Just why Taft should have turned his back on the men most instrumental in securing his nomination and election is variously explained, but there can be no real doubt of the fact itself. The chief support he received in 1908 was from the progressive element, the chief opposition came from the stand-pat element. Four years later the situation was exactly reversed. Evidently either Taft had changed or else both wings of his party had changed.

In the beginning Taft doubtless intended to steer a course which would enable him to obtain the support of both factions of his party. It was a task beyond his or any other man's powers. Furthermore, as he perhaps failed to see, the political situation was such that unless he worked with the progressive element he really served the purposes of the conservatives. The conservatives were satisfied to stand still; if the President did not assist the progressives to drive the wagon forward, the conservatives gained their object. The progressives had expected Taft's favor, and his course rapidly alienated them. The conservatives were quick to see their opportunity. Ulti-


mately Taft fell entirely into their hands, and incidentally into his political grave.

From a political point of view, if from no other, the President was obstinate when he should have been yielding, and yielding when he should have been obstinate. He dismissed Pinchot when he should have retained him, and kept Ballinger when he should have removed him. He gravely announced that it was not within his constitutional province to influence Congress in tariff or other legislation, yet within a few months he was confessedly using his patronage as a club to force "insurgent" legislators to support the party program, and he read them out of the party when they defied him. In his anxiety to avoid the political antagonisms of his predecessor's administration he became involved in a stupendous conflict beside which the conflicts of his predecessor seemed mere skirmishes. His attitude toward the progressive leaders was a monumental blunder, for those leaders generally enjoyed the confidence of the people. The sight of the presidential "big stick" falling on the heads of Norris, Bristow, Cummins, LaFollette, Beveridge and Dolliver aroused melancholy feelings; the populace would have howled with joy had they beheld the blows falling instead on the polls of such men as Aldrich, Penrose, Smoot and Cannon.

President Taft's administration undoubtedly accomplished some forward legislation, but in general the things he attempted seemed to have a way of slipping through his grasp. In the case of Canadian

reciprocity the mountain labored without bringing forth even a mouse. Orders of "dissolution" were secured against the Standard Oil and the Tobacco Trusts, but when the companies were reorganized their stock mounted hundreds of millions in value, and the "judicial triumph" took on the appearance of a monumental joke. The new commerce court assumed unwarranted powers and one of its judges was impeached for improper conduct. Even the arbitration treaties, undertaken with the most laudable of motives, failed of ratification in the Senate. Sporting writers would have said that Mr. Taft was pursued by a "jinx."

As a routine President he was reasonably successful. The ordinary business of administration was conducted with ability and honesty. In the post-office better business qualities were displayed than perhaps ever before, and what had been a large deficit was transformed into a small surplus, though with some sacrifice in the point of service. It was in "forward" measures that the President failed to make good with the people. Had Taft been called to the chair in the period when McKinley occupied it he might have filled it satisfactorily. But the American people had changed in a decade, and the things for which they clamored in 1909-1913 were exactly the things which William H. Taft did not give them. His defenders contend, of course, that therein he showed his greatness. In their opinion the things the American people wanted were not the things they needed to have. Taft, they say, stood up for the old and sound



order and sacrificed himself to save the foundations of constitutional government against ruthless innovation. Posterity will have to decide this point. The judgment of his contemporaries was against Mr. Taft.

Yet Taft retained throughout the confidence of a large part of the business world. A poll of its members undertaken by the National Association of Manufacturers during the campaign of 1912 showed that about ninety per cent. favored him, that about eight per cent. favored Colonel Roosevelt, and not quite two per cent. favored Woodrow Wilson. In chambers of commerce and in the clubs where men of affairs congregated it was always possible to find him vigorously defended. The fact is that his support was top-heavy; he lacked any real following among the masses of the people.

II

The political situation as the campaign of 1912 drew nigh was the most chaotic for many years. Demand for change filled the air. Each of the old parties had its conservatives, who were content to stand pat except perhaps in the distribution of the offices, and its progressives, who were concerned for the morrow. Political observers had for some time been remarking that it was doubtful whether mere party names could much longer hold together things which were unlike.

Among progressive Republicans the dissatisfac-

tion with Taft was intense. The leaders were smarting from the President's attempts to whip them into line with the party lash, and among leaders and rank and file alike the fear prevailed that all of the great forward movement, created with such great effort and promising so much, as they believed, for the country, was in danger of being lost, as a river sinks away in desert sands. Among Democrats there existed differences just as deep seated as among Republicans, but the hope of victory and the spoils of office served as a cohesive force. Among them the feeling prevailed: "After many years we have at last an opportunity to win. We must not let the chance escape through divisions among ourselves."

The progressive Republicans turned first to LaFollette. A campaign in his favor was launched, and he traveled about the country speaking in his own behalf. But as the time for the choice of delegates drew near it became apparent to the well informed that the task was beyond LaFollette's powers. He enjoyed a good reputation as a courageous, fighting progressive; he had in almost every state of the Union a personal following; but that following, outside of his own state of Wisconsin, was comparatively small and it was generally composed of persons who had little influence in practical politics, while even among persons who believed that he had accomplished good work in the Senate there existed doubt whether the bent of his mind fitted him for the presidency. Opposed to him stood the titular head of the party, de-

manding a renomination as a vindication, controlling the whole powerful federal machinery and, though weak in popular following, the choice of the great mass of the Republican politicians in a position to create delegates. Against such a powerful combination it was clear that there was but one man who could make headway, and he was not Senator LaFollette. A speech made under great mental strain before a meeting of publishers in Philadelphia (February 2, 1912) was generally regarded as the complete breaking down of the Senator's candidacy, and it was soon followed by wholesale desertions from his banner.

The demand for the entrance of Theodore Roosevelt upon the stage had meanwhile attained cyclonic proportions. Nor was the demand an artificial one.

Artificial means were used in certain quarters to stimulate it, but the demand was really a genuine, whole-souled call from a vast body of Republicans to their old leader to take charge once more of the old party ship and save it from the rocks.

Colonel Roosevelt's position was peculiarly difficult, not to say embarrassing. A large section of the party of which he had once been the idolized chief had risen in revolt against the man he had set over them and were now clamoring that he should come from retirement and aid them in driving the incumbent from power. He had little to gain, perhaps much to lose, in returning to public affairs. His position in history was assured. The honors he had received at home and abroad were sufficient for the most ambitious of men.

He had repeatedly disclaimed any intention of again being a candidate. Should he enter the contest he would certainly be assailed with the bitterest virulence by old enemies, and it was equally certain that he would alienate many former friends. It was very doubtful whether he could be nominated, and yet more doubtful whether if nominated he could be elected. But he was deeply dissatisfied with the course of his former protégé, who had brought so much of his labor to naught. His sympathies lay with the progressives who in times of need in many a bitter fight had always stood unflinchingly at his back. No doubt he felt that to refuse their call would be equivalent to deserting them in their extremity. Furthermore, in the years of reflection his understanding of the needs of the country had been clarified and he had already announced an elaboration of his old program. There can be little doubt that a desire to see written into law his plans for "a New Nationalism," as set forth in his Osawatomie speech of September, 1910, was a strong factor in his ultimate decision. If he could wrest control of the party from the reactionary leaders and set its feet anew on the progressive road he believed that he would accomplish something worth while, even should he be defeated in November. Therefore, after long consideration, in reply to the appeal of seven Republican governors he announced that he cast his hat into the ring. And the real campaign for the nomination began.

For a time the course of events was decidedly in

favor of Taft. The political machinery in most states was in the hands of his partizans, and they proceeded to grind out Taft delegates with precision and despatch. The old line politicians had their backs to the wall, and in their desperation displayed no squeamishness as to means and methods. Had the old convention system of choosing delegates existed everywhere as had once been the case he would have been renominated with ease; but it so happened that in a number of the great northern and western states the new system of presidential preference primaries conducted under legal regulations had come into being. The first election of this sort took place in North Dakota, and resulted in favor of LaFollette, Roosevelt being second, and Taft decidedly a poor third. Roosevelt then took the field in person, and under his leadership the strength of his following became quickly apparent. LaFollette carried Wisconsin, where the Roosevelt forces made no contest, and Taft secured an even break in conservative Massachusetts; but Roosevelt carried Illinois, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Maryland, California, Oregon, New Jersey, South Dakota and even Taft's own state of Ohio, in most cases by enormous majorities. Out of three hundred and sixty delegates chosen in primary elections safeguarded by law Taft secured only forty-six, LaFollette thirty-six, and Roosevelt two hundred and seventy-eight. In fact, wherever the rank and file of the party had an opportunity to

express themselves they almost invariably declared in decided terms for Roosevelt; wherever the choice of delegates depended on the politicians the delegates were usually for Taft. In the great Republican states Roosevelt secured a large majority of the delegates; the Taft forces controlled all the territorial and insular delegates and most of those from the southern states, none of which had cast a Republican ballot in the electoral colleges since 1876. From many places the Roosevelt forces sent contesting delegations, some confessedly for the sake of the effect on public opinion, others with more merit behind them.

To the contention of the Roosevelt adherents that so clear a manifestation of the will of the rank and file ought to be decisive the Taft supporters retorted that they were under no obligation to change the rules of the game while the game was in progress. Backed up by the influence of many citizens of a conservative cast of mind who stood aghast at the idea of breaking the "third term" precedent or feared such innovations as the initiative, referendum and recall, and the recall of judicial decisions, the conservative leaders, controlling the convention machinery, determined to make full use of their power. They realized that Roosevelt might bolt and form a new party, but it is incredible that they foresaw that such a movement might attain large proportions. Regularity on the part of the rank and file had so long been the rule that it was accepted as an immutable principle. The fact that

the feeling of party loyalty had become greatly weakened, that a spirit of revolt was abroad, had largely escaped them.

So the national committee seated enough doubtful Taft delegates to give him a bare control of the convention and to secure for him the nomination. The Roosevelt delegates for the most part refused to vote for any candidate, and through their spokesman, Henry J. Allen of Kansas, announced that "we shall sit in protest, and the people who sent us here shall judge us." The same night, in another hall, these delegates informally nominated Roosevelt and their choice was unanimously confirmed by a formal convention in August. Colonel Roosevelt accepted and, donning his slouch hat, went gunning for an even bigger elephant than any he had slain in the African jungles.

In their platform the Progressives united the Hamiltonian system of nationalism with the Jeffersonian principle of popular rule. The platform declared for such changes in the fundamental law of the states and nation as were necessary to insure truly representative government and advocated bringing under federal jurisdiction "those problems which have expanded beyond the reach of the individual states." It specifically indorsed direct primaries, the short ballot, direct election of United States Senators, the initiative, referendum and recall, the recall of judicial decisions, woman's suffrage and conservation. It fa-

vored downward revision of the tariff and the establishment of a non-partizan scientific tariff board. It laid great stress on its program of social and industrial justice, which included the prevention of industrial accidents and occupational disease, the establishment of workmen's compensation, a minimum wage for women workers and the prohibition of child labor. It recognized that "the concentration of modern business, in some degree, is both inevitable and necessary for national and international business efficiency," but proposed to eradicate existing evils and to insure to the public a share of the benefits of that efficiency. To this end it proposed the establishment of a strong federal administrative commission to maintain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in interstate commerce.

To many thick-and-thin Republicans the break-up of their party was a blow comparable to that experienced by the ancient Israelites on the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians. To those who had failed to discern the tendencies of the times it seemed that the catastrophe was due to the clashing of personal ambitions, and they denounced Roosevelt as the Nebuchadnezzar responsible for it all. But this was a short-sighted view of the case. Even though every step taken by the ex-President had been dictated by the most indefensible ambition, this would fail to explain the revolution. The truth is that it exemplified the truth of Lincoln's saying that a house

divided against itself can not stand unless it becomes all one thing or all the other. The division had long been inevitable, and it had been frequently forecast.* The causes lay much deeper than any mere personal conflict between candidates. The Chicago convention of 1912 precipitated the Progressive party just as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 precipitated the Republican party. A readjustment was bound to come, and if it had not come in one way it would have come in another. Old men saw the similarity in the two situations, and it was significant that a large proportion of the surviving voters who had supported Frémont in 1856 were for Roosevelt in 1912.

III

Meanwhile a spirited contest was being waged for the Democratic nomination, but it lacked the dramatic qualities of the Republican conflict and absorbed a lesser share of the public attention. Yet there were certain points of similarity. The forces of conservatism had determined to control the Democratic convention at Baltimore just as they controlled the Republican convention at Chicago so that, whichever party might win at the polls, the administration would certainly be conservative. The preconvention fight was,

* See for example an article, "Is the Republican Party Breaking Up?" by Ray Stannard Baker in *The American Magazine* for February, 1910. In April, 1910, the author himself published a syndicated newspaper article comparing the situation then existing with that in 1854. In it he expressed the conviction that a readjustment was bound to come.

therefore, in a sense a struggle between the conservative and progressive wings of the party though, for a number of reasons, the lines were not so clearly drawn.

The leading progressive candidate for the Democratic nomination was Governor Woodrow Wilson. As a pedagogue and publicist Wilson expressed marked conservative opinions, but his experiences while governor with machine politics in New Jersey had caused him to modify his academic views and to withdraw his criticism of such devices as the initiative, referendum and recall. He was decidedly the candidate of the more intelligent and public-spirited section of the Democratic party, and he had a following in every state. His chief opponent, Speaker Champ Clark, of Missouri, was not generally regarded as a reactionary, but his lieutenants flirted with both factions in the hope of winning votes. His real strength lay in the political element of his party, though the "houn' dawg" candidate enjoyed real popular support in certain sections, as was evidenced by his carrying preference primaries in a number of states. Congressman Underwood, being an Alabamian, drew many delegates from the South, and he was also reasonably satisfactory to "Big Business," though less so than Governor Harmon, of Ohio. Harmon was vigorously opposed by progressive Democrats in his own state and also by Mr. Bryan, and failed to secure a united delegation. In general, it was any one to beat Wilson, and with this object in view the astute

financier Thomas F. Ryan contributed large sums to promote the candidacies of both Harmon and Underwood. If the rank and file of the party had followed the dictates of their hearts instead of their heads the nominee would undoubtedly have been William Jennings Bryan who, despite three defeats, still enjoyed an influence unapproached by any other leader.

It was certain that in the convention Bryan would be a force to be reckoned with and that his influence would be thrown on the progressive side. As already stated, he entered the campaign against Harmon in Ohio, and through the columns of his *Commoner* he constantly warned Democrats to beware of reactionary influences. A few days before the convention assembled he telegraphed each candidate asking him to assist in preventing the election of Judge Parker, who was being put forward by reactionaries for the temporary chairmanship. Only Woodrow Wilson returned a reply in full accord with Bryan's desires. This was probably a fortunate stroke on Wilson's part, for it must have had considerable influence on Bryan's mind in Wilson's favor. It doubtless did something to counteract the influence of a certain letter written only a few years before by Wilson, then president of Princeton, in which he expressed a wish that some way could be found of "knocking Bryan into a cocked hat."

When the convention assembled in Baltimore Bryan, who sat as a delegate from Nebraska, led the progressive forces and was at first defeated. The con-

servatives controlled the organization of the convention and elected Judge Parker as temporary chairman over Bryan by a majority of sixty-nine. Reaction seemed about to have its way. The condition of the Democratic party was hardly less critical than that of the Republican party just before the final split at Chicago. It really seemed possible that the Democratic party, like the Republican party, might be split in twain. The result would, of course, have been to throw the progressives of both the old parties into one camp under the militant leadership of Roosevelt and Bryan, or Bryan and Roosevelt. Those who read between the lines of Bryan's daily letters to the press of the country could perceive a determination not to accept defeat. It is certain that not a few Democrats would have been pleased to witness a rupture that would have resulted in throwing the progressives of the country together, but it was not to be. With the object-lesson of the Chicago convention before their eyes and with thousands of protesting telegrams pouring in upon them from throughout the country, enough of the delegates who had been supporting the conservatives gave way to enable the progressive element to have its way, both as to candidate and platform.

The most dramatic moment of the convention came when Bryan rose in his place and presented a resolution declaring the opposition of the convention to any candidate representing predatory Wall Street interests and demanding the withdrawal from the

convention of any delegates representing J. P. Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, "or any other member of privilege hunting and favor seeking class." As Belmont sat as a delegate from New York and Ryan as a delegate from Virginia the resolution naturally developed a strained situation. The reactionary influences, led by the Tammany Hall delegation from New York, heaped untempered abuse on Bryan's head for precipitating such an issue, but the Commoner stood firm. In defense of his resolution he declared that there was not a delegate in the hall who did not know that an effort was "being made to sell the Democratic party into bondage to the predatory interests," and he demanded that the convention should show its colors in a manner not to be mistaken. Ultimately he withdrew that part of his resolution directed at the individual delegates, and the remainder was adopted by a vote of eight hundred and ninety-nine to one hundred and ninety-six, many of the opposition voting for the measure in the hope of gaining a tactical advantage.

Bryan's influence also determined the choice of a candidate. For many ballots Clark led, but always fell short of the necessary two-thirds, or seven hundred and twenty-eight out of one thousand and ninety-two delegates. On the tenth ballot eighty-one of the New York delegates, who had been voting for Harmon, threw their votes to Clark, whose strength rose to five hundred and fifty-one against Wilson's three hundred fifty and one-half, the remainder being divided among

Harmon, Underwood and others. But the accession soon proved disastrous, for Bryan, who had been voting for Clark because under instructions to do so from the Democrats of Nebraska, viewed the adhesion of Tammany with a wintry eye. On the fourteenth ballot he read a statement to the effect that he would not support any candidate favored by Tammany Hall and cast his vote for Wilson. This act proved decisive. Despite the bitter protests of Clark and his lieutenants, the Clark cause could not survive the blow. On the twenty-eighth ballot Wilson forged into the lead, and on the forty-sixth, which was taken on July 2, he was nominated.

IV

The main outcome of the campaign became almost a foregone conclusion the moment the Democratic convention nominated a candidate reasonably satisfactory to the popular wing of the party. Had the Democrats nominated a reactionary the result might have been different. As it was, the only real doubt concerned which candidate would run second. With the choice of Wilson disappeared the Progressive hope of large scale accessions from the Democratic ranks. A few rather prominent Democrats did indeed join the Bull Moose herd, and an analysis of the election figures seems to show that some hundreds of thousands of the Democratic rank and file did the same, but there were no wholesale desertions from Wilson's banner.

The bitterness which developed between Republicans and Progressives exceeded anything in politics since the days when the "Bloody Shirt" was waved in the breeze. At first the Republicans affected to despise the Progressive movement, prophesying that the "soreness" would disappear before election day, when virtually all would rally again with the Grand Old Party; but this view, except as far as it was put forth to influence the wavering, was soon dissipated. In Republican eyes the Progressives were "renegades," "traitors," "disappointed office-seekers," "visionaries," and, strangely enough, the effort was made to show that they were fighting for Wall Street. Their leaders were "political emotionalists or neurotics," who were seeking to pull down the pillars of the Republic. Roosevelt was a violent "demagogue," a "Boss Boss," a tyrant seeking to make himself "king" or "emperor" over ninety millions of degraded American subjects. To Progressives the conflict was the battle of Armageddon, a conflict between right and wrong, and their campaign took on something of the flavor and methods of an old-fashioned camp-meeting. Words failed when they endeavored to picture their opinion of the Chicago convention. The "steal" had been carried through by a gang of political "crooks" or "high-binders"; the convention was "a family reunion of the lineal descendants of Jesse James"; and the nomination of Taft was a result of an alliance between "crooked business and crooked politics." Their most charitable judgment of Taft was that he was "well-

meaning but weak and that he was surrounded by men who were neither weak nor well-meaning."

Colonel Roosevelt swept through many states speaking to great crowds until seriously wounded by a half-crazed fanatic, being able to appear subsequently only at two monster meetings in New York City. But the bullet he received in the breast at Milwaukee probably made him more votes than all of the speeches he was forced to cancel would have done, for it aroused sympathy in his behalf and the admiration which every real human being feels for a "game man." Governor Wilson made a leisurely campaign, more as a matter of form than of necessity, and spoke with much dignity and perspicacity to large audiences. The brunt of the campaign fell upon Bryan and lesser lights. President Taft, having learned in the preconvention fight that he was not a vote-making campaigner, remained for the most part in seclusion. His lieutenants endeavored to defend the legality of his nomination, minimized the importance of the Progressive movement, and covered dead walls with posters reminding voters that, "It is better to be safe than sorry," but his campaign never gained any noticeable impetus.

The election result was interesting from many points of view. Governor Wilson carried forty states and received two of the electoral votes of California, a total of four hundred and thirty-five, far more than the needed majority. Colonel Roosevelt received eleven votes in California, and carried Pennsylvania, Michi-

gan, Minnesota, South Dakota and Washington, with a total of eighty-eight electoral votes. President Taft ran a poor third, carrying only two states—Vermont and Utah—with a total of eight electoral votes.

The Democratic triumph was, however, less overwhelming than appeared from the electoral vote. Out of 15,031,169 ballots cast, Wilson received only 6,286,214, that is, there was a combined popular majority against him of 2,458,741. His popular vote was, in fact, 112,892 less than Bryan received in 1908; it did not even equal Bryan's vote of 1896. The combined vote of Taft and Roosevelt was 1,323,728 in excess of Wilson's total, Taft's vote being 3,483,922, and Roosevelt's 4,126,020.* In fact, had 250,000 voters in the right states transferred their ballots from Wilson to Roosevelt, the Progressive candidate would have received a majority of the electoral votes and the presidency.

The falling off in the Democratic popular vote indicates that a considerable number of Democrats either remained at home, or else supported the Progressive or Socialist tickets. It was, in fact, comparatively easy for many Democrats to support

* In Oklahoma the Republican electors pledged themselves to support the candidate—Taft or Roosevelt—who ran best outside that state, and received the united support of Progressives and Republicans. The 90,786 votes cast for them are, however, included in Taft's total and not in Roosevelt's. In Idaho the Progressives were unable to get their electors on the ticket, and in California and South Dakota their electors ran as Republicans. The figures are from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1912*, page 733.

Roosevelt, for they had helped to heap up his phenomenal plurality of over two million and a half over Judge Parker in 1904. Republican leaders sought to explain part of the falling off in their vote by saying that many voted the Democratic ticket in order to defeat the Third Termer. The size of the Democratic vote, however, runs counter to this theory, and it is highly probably that the number of Republicans who ultimately supported Wilson was much smaller than the number who at one time or another thought of doing so. The Republican leaders sought to hold their followers in line, for they realized how discouraging it would be for their party to stand third.

The Progressives claimed that the election definitely settled the question of whether Taft or Roosevelt was the real choice of the rank and file of the Republican party. They pointed to the fact that Roosevelt carried all of the "road-rollered" states over Taft,* in most cases by large pluralities, and held that this showed that the Taft delegates seated from those states were the product of political manipulation if not of fraud. They contended that in the court of last resort the Republican leaders stood convicted of hav-

* Roosevelt carried Michigan over Taft and Wilson, his plurality over the former being 38,000. His plurality over Taft in Washington was 43,000. In Arizona their respective votes stood, Taft 2,986, Roosevelt 6,951; in Colorado, Taft 58,386, Roosevelt 72,306. Roosevelt's plurality in Indiana, another "road-rollered" state, was over 10,000, and he ran ahead of Taft in most of the southern states, the chief source of Taft's strength in the convention.

ing attempted to override the wishes of the majority in their party.

The significance of the Progressive vote was variously interpreted. Some men affected to believe that the voters who had given it their support had mainly done so because of a belief in its principles and in spite of the man at the head of the ticket. Others contended that the movement had no more lasting basis than faith in one man. The truth doubtless lay between these two extremes. The principles adopted by the new party undoubtedly attracted some who lacked enthusiasm for Roosevelt; other men followed Roosevelt who cared little for the Progressive platform.

There had been no fracture within an American political party so complete since the division of 1860 in the Democratic party. There had been bolts from the Republican party before, for example, the Liberal Republican movement in 1872 and the Mugwump exodus of 1884, but the number of these former seceders had been comparatively small. In this case the bolting faction seemed to include the larger portion of the whole party. And yet, in some respects, the split was not immediately complete. In many localities the Progressives did not put local tickets in the field but indorsed the Republican nominees. Even in places where the Progressives had tickets Colonel Roosevelt almost invariably ran far ahead of them, a circumstance which lent color to the view that many voters cast ballots for him who had not yet decided to sever

definitely their relations with the old party. The most notable person who openly took such a stand was Senator Cummins, of Iowa, who issued a statement characterizing Taft's nomination as fraudulent and stating that he would vote for Roosevelt but that he was opposed to forming a new party. Governor Francis E. McGovern of Wisconsin was reelected on the Republican ticket, but openly supported Roosevelt. In fact, in California and South Dakota the Roosevelt electors were elected as Republicans.

V

The ultimate effect of the division upon the Republican party can not yet be forecast with certainty. The tendency in many circles was to regard the result of the election as a death-blow but, in spite of post-mortems, some life yet remained in the G. O. P. elephant and, as a cartoon had it, "Reports of my death are greatly exaggerated." But though the Elephant retained a spark of life in his body, doubt existed whether he would ever regain enough strength to enable him to recover the mastery of the political jungle. To restore him to such strength was the great task before his political keepers.

The most obvious way, of course, was to persuade the Progressives who had been Republicans to return to their old allegiance. But great obstacles lay in the way, and not least of these was the fact that division still existed within the fragment of the old party. "Its

leaders," declared ex-Senator Beveridge* in June, 1913, "are not agreed on a single principle or policy for which the party can stand through the nation. On the contrary they are at unrelenting war with one another, to which there can be no end or even a temporary truce without a yielding of basic convictions. For example, Mr. Cummins believes in Republican voters nominating their candidate for President by a nation-wide primary; but only the other day, in a carefully prepared lecture, Mr. Taft was hard put to it to find words strong enough to denounce that very thing. Mr. LaFollette believes in the initiative and referendum; yet Mr. Cannon in a very able reactionary article in this magazine† called this the 'dynamite' theory, which would 'blow up the foundations of the government.' Compare what the Republican party stands for in Rhode Island with what it stands for in Nebraska! A Republican in Iowa is a good deal more of a stranger among Republicans of Massachusetts than among Democrats of Oklahoma. The Republicans of Utah and New Hampshire announce the same beliefs; but put the beliefs of New Hampshire and Utah in parallel columns with those announced by Republicans of North Dakota and Wisconsin!"

A large proportion, perhaps even a majority, of the Republican rank and file were progressively inclined, but they were not in a position to make their influence felt. The reactionaries dominated the national com-

* In *The Saturday Evening Post*, June 28, 1913, page 3.

† *The Saturday Evening Post*.

mittee, whose power was as absolute as that of an oriental despot; and they also controlled the political machinery in many of the largest states, including New York and Pennsylvania. When, therefore, progressive Republicans met and announced: "We must reorganize along progressive lines," reactionary Republicans answered: "We do not need to reorganize. All we have to do is to wait for Democratic mistakes and meantime refrain from rocking our boat."

It was this division within the fragment of the party which was one of the causes of the failure to hold a rehabilitation convention in 1914. There can be no doubt that such a convention, if it could have been held amicably, would greatly have strengthened the Republican position, but the progressive wing discovered that the reactionaries were determined to control the convention and that any attempt to break their hold would result in another split or in revealing the true situation so clearly to the country that it would react disastrously. Some of the progressive Republicans, therefore, opposed any convention, and the national committee did little more than make a reduction of southern representation in national conventions.

The Progressive leaders understood the situation, and when the progressive Republicans invited them back into the fold, they answered: "That might all be very well if you were really in full control, but you still have your reactionary national committee, and one experience with that body is enough to last us a

lifetime. You propose to make your party progressive, but isn't that exactly what you and we tried to do at Chicago in 1912 and failed? If combined we could not do it, because the reactionaries were so firmly intrenched, how can you alone hope to accomplish it? Why do not you come into our new party, which was born progressive and is dedicated to those principles?"

Mr. Frank Munsey's proposed "merger" of the Progressive and Republican parties awakened little response among other Progressive leaders. In their opinion such a measure is impossible for a number of reasons. The Progressive party is not merely a faction of the Republican party but includes many former Democrats who would never consent to such a step. Furthermore, the Progressive party is not merely a protest against arbitrary party methods and rules but has its definite principles and policies.

"To what end, then, is this proposed merger," asked ex-Senator Beveridge. "To win!" answer the merger promoters. Quite so. But to win what? To win offices and power! When you get at the bottom of it will any one point out what else there is to come from this proposed merger and amalgamation? And is that result attractive to any sincere and thoughtful man?"

The Progressive party had some advantages in the struggle for survival, and it had also some weaknesses. It cast a decidedly larger vote for President than did the Republicans, but uncertainty existed as to how many of its supporters in 1912 definitely regarded themselves as Progressives. Some undoubtedly did

not. The slogan, "Unite against the common enemy, the Democrats" exercised a strong appeal over many, notwithstanding that the only object in common was "to win." In certain local and state elections the influence of this appeal was soon felt. The fall elections of 1913 were distinctly discouraging to the Progressives. Their vote fell off decidedly in such states as New York and New Jersey, and almost the only gleam of cheer was in Massachusetts, where they succeeded in wresting second place from the Republicans. Furthermore, the party lost Hanna, Prendergast, Senator Bristow and some other lesser lights. In the elections of 1914 its strength was cut in twain.

Disintegrating tendencies operate the more easily because not all the Progressives joined the Bull Moose herd from conviction. Some were disappointed self-seeking politicians, who would easily change their allegiance again in case they saw an opportunity for personal gain in doing so. Some had been alienated from the old parties by grievances less personal but not more permanent. Others joined merely through the contagion of example. Only those who joined through full conviction could be absolutely depended on to remain true to the cause. One of the party's chief sources of strength lies in the independent character of many of its members, yet even in this source of strength is a weakness. Independent voters are often too independent to secure tangible results. They enter a movement with enthusiasm, but become disgruntled over some small or imaginary grievance

and withhold future support. This is one of the reasons why so many reform movements have failed after making a promising start.

The great advantage of the Progressive party lies in its possession of a definite and consistent program supported by able and earnest leaders. It has greater solidarity than either of its chief opponents. It does not stand for one thing in one state and for another in another state. In such leaders as Jane Addams, Antoinette Funk, Raymond Robins, Johnson, Beveridge, Bird, Garfield, Straus and Pinchot it has an asset which it is difficult to overestimate. And one call upon Colonel Roosevelt's birch-bark horn is still worth a million votes at the lowest calculation.

The blow received in the election of 1914 may prove fatal, but whether as a formal organization or otherwise the Progressive movement will long continue to exercise a powerful influence, and political alignments will never again be what they were prior to the cataclysm of 1912. At present the Progressives hold the balance of power, and if they care to throw their influence to either of the old parties in the next election they can determine the result.

The hope of Republicanism lies in a reaction against Democratic rule with a consequent willingness on the part of the people to return to the old régime. The party still enjoys the support of a greater body of large business men and manufacturers than both of the other parties combined. Should conditions seem favorable in 1916 for its

return to power it could undoubtedly raise a great campaign fund among the manufacturers whose protectionist ox has been kicked by the Democratic donkey. Business depression has already produced a reaction in its favor and against the Democrats and Progressives, but the present likelihood that the country will once more commit itself unreservedly to the care of Penrose, Smoot, Taft, Barnes and the influences behind them seems remote. The Republicans cast a much larger vote in 1914 than in 1912, particularly in industrial states, but if they are to "come back" in earnest it will probably have to be under different leadership. Penrose's enormous plurality in Pennsylvania may seem to run counter to this theory, but Pennsylvania is not the United States.

Meanwhile the Democrats have a great opportunity. In the course followed by them lies the fate of the Progressive party, for if it is ever to come into power the thing must be accomplished by the help of Democratic votes. A reactionary course on the part of the Democratic administration would undoubtedly vastly increase Progressive prospects by disgusting progressive Democrats and causing them to support the new party. On the other hand, a progressive course on the part of the Democrats lessens the Progressive party's excuse for existence and renders it more difficult for it to preserve its identity, while tending to drive conservative and reactionary Democrats into the Republican camp.

Up to date the course of the Wilson administration

has been more to the advantage of the Republicans than to that of the Progressives. President Wilson seems to have profited by Taft's mistakes. Had he followed Taft's course and relied on conservative and reactionary forces—the Parker-Belmont-Ryan-Tammany Hall element in the Democratic party, corresponding to the Aldrich-Cannon element in the Republican party—there is good reason to believe that he would immediately have found himself deep in difficulties. Had he even decided to leave Bryan out of his group of advisers he would have alienated at least three million Democrats and at the outset would have made a mistake he never could have rectified. As it is, by adopting a reasonably progressive course and leaning on progressive advisers he has won the favor of progressives in every party and has thereby enormously strengthened his party's lease upon power. Should he and his successors continue in the progressive path and solve the problems of the day, most of the real Progressives may ultimately drift into the Democratic ranks and that party may hold control for years to come.

President Wilson is, in fact, not only the chief unifying force in his party but he has greater political strength than his party. It is beyond question that he has shown decided qualities of leadership. In fact, he is the government. "Mr. Wilson is the whole thing at this juncture," said *Harper's Weekly* early in 1914. "He dispenses the high and the low and the middle justice. He has suffered no notable rebuff in putting

into effect his plans and his ideas. The processes of government reflect his will. The members of Congress do not love him, but they do not doubt the quality of the man. Nobody hints any longer that he is 'academic.' His resolute will, his firm grasp of public business, and his strong executive ability are clearly seen. His capacities and his abilities measure up to the office he holds. He is, indeed, chief magistrate to the uttermost fringe of his authority."

In one respect Wilson is not unlike the founder of his party, Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson was an extreme states' rights man while the Federalists were in office, but when he became President, he construed certain national powers more broadly than the Federalists had ever dared to do. He himself admitted that in purchasing Louisiana he stretched the Constitution "till it cracked." So it is with Wilson. Any one who will take the trouble to go through his speeches and writings of the last decade will find denunciations in plenty of extensions of federal power and declarations that the state should play the chief part in solving our industrial problems. And yet when he became President and announced his trust program, it went almost as far in the direction of nationalism as anything even the Progressives had proposed. Again was it made manifest that a man's feeling toward the exercise of power depends in large measure on who is doing the exercising.

Yet the Democratic future is not without its clouds. The party has leaders who are willing and eager to

grapple with the problems of the times, and others by no means so willing and not at all eager. A brilliant Washington newspaper correspondent of socialistic sympathies recently analyzed the Democratic leadership to me in the following words:

"To my mind there are three kinds of Democrats here: the emotional Democrats of the Bryan-Kern type, men whose hearts are usually better than their heads; the medieval Democrats of the Clarke-Williams type; the predatory Democrats of the Underwood-Fitzgerald type. The last are the shrewdest of all, and can play rings around the Bryan element. The most discouraging feature of the whole situation lies in the number of medieval Democrats. Many of the southern members are of this type, and they haven't the faintest glimmer of modern industrial and social problems. If you were to name the Industrial Revolution to their chief classicist, he would probably exclaim: 'The Industrial Revolution? Oh, yes, another name for the uprising known as the Jacquerie!'"

Probably few people would entirely agree with this classification, and yet it contains some elements of truth. Certainly no well informed Democrat will attempt to affirm that all the many and diverse elements of his party are in absolute accord.

It is an open secret that a considerable number of Democratic leaders are far from enthusiastic over the administration's program and would gladly defeat it if they dared. It is probable that the differences will increase rather than diminish. The mass of the

party is progressively inclined but, as in the Republican party, the influence of the reactionaries is out of all proportion to their numbers. In several states factional troubles are pronounced, and in New York the party split in twain over the Sulzer impeachment and the mayoralty contest in the metropolis. Wilson may manage to hold the heterogeneous elements in hand, but where is another who can do so? In case he were to die a stupendous struggle for control would immediately be precipitated, with Bryan and Clark, already at swords' points, leading opposing factions. Of course, Wilson will probably live out his term, but what then? The platform of 1912 on which he was elected declared in favor of a single term. Will Mr. Wilson regard this as binding and withdraw from the field? If he does the conflict will come then.

Even though the Democratic party should succeed in preserving its solidarity, its remedies for existing evils may prove to be inadequate. The one greatest problem pressing for solution is the industrial one. The Democrats expect to solve it by restoring the old era of competition. They believe that they have weakened the trusts by lowering the protective tariff. They hold that the new currency act will weaken the money trust and destroy the domination of New York City over the money market. They purpose to enforce the Sherman Act and have supplemented it with measures intended to safeguard competition. Perhaps their remedies will prove adequate; if not, the people may then turn elsewhere for leadership.

Financial depression and foreign affairs are at present among the sources of embarrassment to the party in power. Business has been dull and opponents of the administration are using the old cry that Democratic rule means hard times, forgetting, of course, to state that the depression is world-wide and that conditions in Canada, our neighbor, have been much worse than with us. As regards foreign relations, the Japanese cloud, the first of large dimensions to appear on the horizon, seems to have drifted by, but the Mexican cloud still hangs upon the horizon. The Mexican problem has been one of the most difficult that has confronted us in years. Many people have unquestionably been impatient with the administration's course in the matter, but recent events in Europe tend to reconcile us to Bryan's peace policy.

Luckily for them the Democrats have two years more in which to prepare for the crucial test. It is altogether probable that in that time business will greatly improve and, if it does so, the chief argument against their retention in power will have lost its weight. The country may then be in a better mood to appreciate the vast amount of constructive legislation that the party has accomplished.

Meanwhile the tendency toward the breaking down of party lines with independent voting continues marked. A result is the exploitation of local and sectional interests. Also groups go into politics for their own advancement. Labor unions are voting as unions and not as Democrats or Republicans or Progressives.

The Guardians of Liberty are opposing candidates who are against the restriction of immigration. An anti-Catholic wave is sweeping the country and has already resulted in the defeat of many candidates, particularly Democratic candidates.

Looking back to the campaign of 1912, we see one fact standing out clear and strong. The conservatives and reactionaries attempted too much. They controlled the Republican convention and nominated a satisfactory candidate, but the victory proved an empty one. They failed to control the Democratic convention, and a progressive candidate was nominated and elected. Through the work largely of Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan all their plans were brought to dust and ashes. Rarely have two men been able to accomplish more toward determining the course of political history than was accomplished by these two during those crowded months. Because of them, the year 1912 was a rout for reaction.

Another interesting though less important result of the election of 1912 was that for the first time in half a century the South regained the saddle in national affairs. President Wilson is himself a Virginian, the first southerner to occupy the White House since Andrew Johnson. Five of his cabinet are southerners; the leader of the House until his elevation to the Senate was a Representative from Alabama; the leader of the Senate was born in Virginia, though elected from Indiana; the chairmen of the

most important committees can sing *Dirie* much better than *Marching Through Georgia*; the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is from Louisiana; even the North and West are represented by twelve southern-born Senators, in which number is included the Progressive Poindexter; there are more Confederate than Union veterans in Congress. The South is, indeed, "back in the Union and in charge of the Union."

In this chapter we have considered three parties and their programs. As we have seen, the dominant stand-pat element in the Republican party is, speaking largely, satisfied with our industrial, social and political conditions as they existed before the Republicans were retired from power. The Democrats display less contentment and would enact reforms but, in theory at least, they advocate a return to a past age. The Progressives believe that the world changes and they would perfect existing conditions by introducing innovations. Differing widely on many points, all three parties agree on one fundamental: they would not abolish the established system.

There is, however, another American party which has been forging rapidly to the front and which denounces the whole existing order and would introduce a new one. This party, its history, its leaders and its program, must now receive our consideration.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

I

IN the year 1900 a new party entered the field of national politics and nominated a candidate for the presidency. Its promoters were mostly poor men with little public influence and were popularly regarded as cranks if not worse. It received meager support from the press of the country. It polled only 87,814 votes. But its leaders were obsessed with an idea, and overwhelming defeat did not diminish their determination. They perfected their organization and continued their campaign of agitation and education. In 1904 their vote jumped to 886,955. Their party began to attract attention. It was denounced as a menace. The ensuing four years proved less favorable for the new propaganda, for one of the old parties, under the leadership of a reformer of almost unprecedented popularity, seemed to be seriously grappling with some of the abuses that caused social unrest, and most men who were discontented with existing conditions preferred to vote with that party rather than to "waste" their ballots on a hopeless ticket. In consequence the vote of the new party in 1908 was only

417,406, a gain of a little over thirty thousand. But in the next four years the party in power seemed to falter in its efforts for social betterment, and again the new party forged forward. Its principles were promulgated with increased persistency and enthusiasm and began to permeate all classes. In 1910 it elected the mayor of one of the largest cities in the country and secured its first Congressman. In 1912 it polled 898,296 votes, and in seven states cast more votes than the party that was retired from power. Thus in twelve years its strength increased more than tenfold. In the last four of these years it increased more than twofold. Should the last-mentioned ratio continue, the party in 1916 would poll 1,800,000 votes; in 1920, 3,600,000 votes; in 1924, 7,200,000, perhaps enough to elect the President.

The significance of this rapid development can not be ignored by any serious student of American conditions. The enthusiasm and determination of the new party's members assure us that the impulse is not yet exhausted. Their steady increase furnishes concrete proof that their cause is no passing fancy. The gradual development of a similar party in almost every other important country proves that the movement is not merely local. Though Socialism is still sneered at and derided in some quarters, it continues to sweep onward and the observer who contemplates it can not help wondering now and then if he is not gazing on the most important political, social and economic manifestation of our age.

And yet, though almost a million American voters are now Socialists, the meaning of the term and of the movement is still generally misunderstood in this country. Many persons who are well informed on most other matters continue to confuse it with communism, anarchism and various other "isms," with some of which it has no more affinity than with Stoicism or Christian Science. The late Senator Hanna's favorite form of denouncing an enemy was to say that he was "a Socialist and an Anarchist," and the average man saw no contradiction in the appellations. John Spargo tells us that Socialists are still occasionally classed with Anarchists, and "we are not infrequently asked about our supposed intentions of having a great general 'dividing up day' for the equal division of all the wealth of the nation. . . . The word Socialism is spoken by many with the pallid lips of fear, the scowl of hate, or the amused shrug of contempt; while in the same land, people of the same race, facing the same problems and perils, speak it with gladdened voices and hope-lit eyes. Many a mother crooning over her babe prays that it may be saved from the Socialism to which another, with equal mother-love, looks as her child's heritage and hope."

For this confusion of thought the history of Socialism is in part responsible, for like many other ideas Socialism is a gradual evolution and, as we shall presently see, the word is used in an entirely different sense from that given it sixty years ago. Even to-day the term has three distinct meanings. It may refer: (1)

to a theory of social evolution; (2) to the movement or political party engaged in advocating this theory; or (3) to the stage of society which believers in the theory contend will supplant the present stage of capitalism.

Socialistic ideas are not new. They can be found in the writings of ancient philosophers, including Plato, but they were not formulated into a definite theory until after the Industrial Revolution. Among the forerunners of the movement were the celebrated philanthropist and factory reformer Robert Owen, the mystic Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier. These men are now usually designated as "Utopian Socialists," and their plans for the regeneration of the world differed radically from those of the "Scientific Socialists" of to-day. They failed to realize the evolutionary nature of human society, and believed that it would be possible to reconstruct it out of hand. They and their followers and imitators instituted great numbers of interesting but usually short-lived communistic experiments, such as the Owenite community at New Harmony, the Oneida community, Brook Farm with its phalanx and phalanstery, and the various Icarian experiments. The plans of these undertakings varied greatly, running the whole gamut from the sublime to the absurd, from the heights of philanthropy to the depths of free-love and virtual promiscuity in sexual relations.

The real formulators of modern Socialism, however, were the two Germans, Karl Marx and Friederich

Engels. Engels, the younger of the two, was a native of Barmen in the Rhine province and came of a well-to-do family. On attaining manhood he was sent to England to look after his father's interest in a cotton-mill and there became deeply interested in social and industrial conditions, writing a book called *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. He mingled with the leaders of the Chartist movement, became acquainted with Robert Owen and contributed to his *New Moral World*. Karl Marx, as is generally known, was a Jew, the descendant of a long line of Rabbis, and was a native of the old German town of Trèves. He studied law, history and philosophy at Berlin and Bonn, and after receiving the degree of doctor of philosophy edited a democratic paper, the *Rheinish Gazette*. His outspoken opinions quickly brought him into conflict with the government, with the result that he retired from the editorship and removed to Paris, where he soon fell under the doctrines of Saint-Simon. Early in 1848, being then respectively twenty-nine and twenty-seven years of age, Marx and Engels, by authority of a secret revolutionary society known as the Communist League, jointly published the famous *Communist Manifesto*, which has been called "the birth cry" of modern scientific Socialism. The manifesto announced the idea of "the class struggle" and the predominating influence of economics in the affairs of mankind and closed with the appeal which is still ringing round the world: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their

chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries unite!"

Subsequently the authors of the *Manifesto* expanded and developed its ideas into the principles which form the basis of the Socialist movement of to-day. Marx's great three-volume work, *Das Capital*, written for the most part in the bitterest poverty, is known as the "Socialist Bible." Its theories have been severely criticized by many economists, and not all of its conclusions are accepted even by Socialists, but no man, whatever his opinion of its general principles, can read it without realizing that it is a work of genius.

Marx, Engels and their associates at first called themselves Communists, not Socialists. The latter term which apparently was formed from the Latin adjective *socialis* (*socius*, a comrade) seems to have first been used about 1835 as a synonym for the Owenite movement. It had spread rapidly, and soon came into general use, first as designating all the visionary Utopians and then all altruistic visions, theories and experiments of whatever age. Marx and Engels believed themselves decidedly more practical than the "Utopian Socialists," of whom they spoke with disdain. But in time the meaning of the two words became reversed. The Communists of 1848 came to be called Socialists, and the Socialists of that day to be called Communists. To this change much of the confusion regarding the meaning of Socialism is due and more than one critic has been led astray by it.

II

Socialism has changed somewhat since the time of Marx and even now there are different kinds of Socialists, just as there are different kinds of Republicans and Democrats. But the American Socialists are as well agreed on essentials as is usually the case in a political party, and it is possible to say with a fair degree of definiteness what their program is and what it is not.

Improvement in any sphere of man's action is likely to result from a conscious knowledge of defects or unsatisfactory conditions. The inventor of the cotton-gin, seeing the painfully slow method of separating the lint from the seed, decided to try to make a machine that would do the work more rapidly and he succeeded. The Boston dentist and medical student, Doctor William Morton, beholding the awful sufferings of persons on the operating table, began experiments and in 1846 blessed mankind by his discovery of anesthesia by sulphuric ether. The abolitionists, seeing the misery and degradation inherent in negro slavery, began to agitate against it, with the result that that "relic of barbarism" gave way to freedom. Just so the Socialist, looking about him, discovers in the existing social order wasteful methods of production and distribution, inequality, crime and awful misery, some men starving and others with wealth almost beyond computation and he sets himself to the problem of evolving a better system. The Marxian Socialists,

studying economic history and existing conditions, believe that such a system will result from natural evolution, but they hold that man himself, instead of being the blind pawn of Fate, can on becoming conscious of his condition and true interests assist in the beneficent process.

The Socialists criticize not merely prevailing abuses but the very foundations of society, for they believe that the existing system makes such abuses possible. As things now stand, they assert, the world is one vast theater for the exploitation of the many by the few for the benefit of the few. Man must have food, clothing and shelter to preserve life, and the means of producing these necessities are falling into the hands of a constantly decreasing class, the power of which constantly increases. This class bring ever larger masses of working people under their control and reduce them to a condition where muscle and brain are their only property. The great mass of mankind are becoming helpless wage slaves of their industrial masters.*

The capitalist system, say the Socialists, is inefficient, selfish and cruel. Nature is bountiful and, in such a country as America, industry, if properly organized and directed, could produce enough for all to live in comfort; yet the land is full of hunger, want and misery. In times of feverish activity the strength of the workers is prodigally spent, and in periods of enforced idleness they are frequently forced to starva-

* See the platform of the Socialist party in 1908.

tion. In its mad race for profits the capitalist class exploits the worker to the limits of his endurance and sacrifices his physical, mental and moral welfare to its own insatiable greed. As a result the mass of workmen live in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. Wives are driven from the home to the mill and factory. Children are snatched from the playground and school and their slender bodies and unformed minds are ground into cold dollars. Hundreds of thousands of workers are yearly disfigured, maimed and killed in mines, on railroads and in factories because of capitalistic greed and lack of proper safeguards. Millions of others join the ranks of the unemployed or turn beggars, vagrants or criminals.

No one who has investigated the subject can refrain from agreeing with the Socialist that our present competitive system is undoubtedly wasteful and ineffective, though he may believe that no better can be devised. The loss of time, energy and effort in the processes of production and distribution is distressingly great, and is one of the chief factors in our high cost of living, as has been pointed out in detail in an earlier chapter. The Socialist contends that his system would eliminate much of this waste.

What, then, is the Socialist's system? First, following the custom adopted by Socialist writers, let us see what it is not. Most decidedly it is not Anarchy. Socialists and Anarchists agree in opposing the existing order, but in naming the remedy they part company. The Anarchist would destroy all govern-

ment; the Socialist would increase the sphere of government. Hence Socialism and Anarchy are polar opposites, and the Democrat, the Republican or the Progressive holds a theory of government which is nearer that of the Anarchist than is that of the Socialist. The Anarchist's ideal is absolutely unchecked individualism. Contrary to popular opinion, the Socialist also believes in individualism, but he holds that restrictions are necessary to secure the rights of all. His criticism of the present laissez-faire system is that it results in conditions under which only a comparatively few persons are able to exercise their individuality, that the rest are hampered and held under by these favored few. The Socialist would stop regulation at the point which would secure to every one the greatest amount of freedom. Contrary to the view once expressed in London *Punch*, the Socialist state will not be a great bureaucracy whose citizens will be clothed just alike, known by numbers instead of names, living in desolate barracks, deprived of all the joys of family life, plodding through tiresome tasks under autocratic bureaucrats and permitted only to chew gum in leisure hours as a special concession from their paternal government.

Socialism is not Communism. Under the Socialistic system there would be collective ownership of the means of production, transportation and exchange; but there would still be private ownership of income and of such things as personal apparel, personal furniture, books and works of art. Socialism does not

advocate the suppression of private property except it be used for exploitation. Communism advocates common ownership of income, and its advocates usually insist on equal division of the products of society. Socialism does not propose any "dividing up," and all that the Socialist asks is equality of opportunity and what he earns. In fact, he contends that he is trying to rescue property from the few and thereby make it available for the use and happiness of the many.

Socialism is not free love. Some Socialists, it is true, have questioned the institution of marriage, just as many non-Socialists have done. The great majority would retain the family, and the matrimonial history of members of the party compares favorably with that of New York and Pittsburgh millionaires; the divorce rate among Socialists is probably not greater than one divorce to every ten marriages, the rate among the American people as a whole. Socialists, in fact, contend that under their system marriages will be happier because economic conditions will be vastly improved with the result that wives, instead of being breadwinners, will be homekeepers.

Socialism is not government ownership, for Socialists point out that government ownership merely substitutes a government controlled by capital for the private capitalist employer. It is not profit-sharing, as that term is at present understood; nor is it the single tax on land, though some Socialists advocate the nationalization of land. It is not mere social re-

form, for social reform retains the main features of the capitalist system. In general Socialists favor social reforms in order to make the existing system more tolerable while we live under it, but a few extremists oppose all reforms as mere palliatives designed to postpone the coming of their more perfect system.

"Socialism is not," says Robert Blatchford, the English radical, "a wild dream of a happy land where the apples will drop off the trees into our open mouths, the fish come out of the rivers and fry themselves for dinner and the looms turn out ready-made suits of velvet with golden buttons without the trouble of coal-ing the engine. Neither is it a dream of a nation of stained-glass angels who never say damn, who always love their neighbors better than themselves, and who never need to work unless they wish to."

In their criticisms of the existing order and in defining what they are not, Socialists are concrete, definite, precise. But when they come to outline the scheme of things under their new order they are often contradictory and somewhat nebulous. Many, in fact, do not attempt to describe, except in the most general way, what life will be like under the new order. They merely say: "Socialism is coming. It is an inevitable and better stage in social evolution. We know the fundamental principles, but we do not pretend to be prophets in small things. We can not tell you all the details."

John Spargo, one of the chief Socialist publicists of the country, is of the opinion that the new order

will be "a form of social organization in which every individual will enjoy the greatest possible amount of self-development and expression; and in which social authority will be reduced to the minimum necessary for the preservation and insurance of that right to all individuals." Politically the organization of the Socialist state will be democratic, and women as well as men will be allowed a voice, minors, lunatics, criminals and aliens alone being excluded. "There will be perfect freedom of movement, including the right to withdraw from the domain of the government, to migrate at will to other territories; immunity from arrest, except from infringing others' rights, with compensation for improper arrest; respect of the privacy of domicile and correspondence; full liberty of dress, subject to decency; freedom of utterance, whether by speech or publication, subject only to the protection of others from insult, injury, or interference with their equal liberties. Absolute freedom of the individual in all that pertains to art, science, philosophy and religion, and their teaching and propaganda." The principal functions of the state will be to organize and control the production and distribution of social wealth wherever private enterprise is inefficient or dangerous to the social welfare; defense from enemies, fire and disease; foreign relations; maintenance of public order; public education. The economic organization of the Socialist state would consist of three forms: private production, subject to such regulation as the interests of society might require; volun-

tary cooperation, likewise subject to similar supervision; and production and exchange by the state.

Critics of Socialism have been fond of asking how, under the proposed system, ways could be found of distributing labor among the different occupations and of paying laborers of unequal talents. Ditches must still be dug, sewers cleaned, streets swept; some men will be strong physically and others weak; some will be men of large ability and efficiency, others of limited mentality and incapable of achieving large results. Spargo and other Socialists suggest that much of what is now dirty, disagreeable and dangerous work will in future be done by machinery; that men can be induced to do what remains by shortening the hours of labor in such occupations or by increasing the compensation. Some readers will recall that Fourier advocated having such work as cleaning sinks and sewers and hauling manure done by the "Little Hordes" composed of children from ten to twelve, his reason being that he had noticed that at that age they have a marked passion for filth and dirt. As to compensation, many Socialists, including Spargo, hold that equality in wages is not an essential condition of the Socialist régime, that the more efficient shall have a greater reward than his less efficient brother, but that it shall not be a reward that will handicap others in the ever-recurring economic race. They admit, however, that the ideal to be aimed at should be approximate equality of income. Such answers are perhaps satisfactory as far as they

go, but undoubtedly the problem of the organization of labor and its compensation will be one of the most intricate and difficult that will arise should an attempt ever be made to put Socialism into actual operation.

Many advocates of Socialism contend that the Socialist system will be so efficient in carrying on production and distribution that four hours of work a day will be ample to provide for all of man's material wants. Every able-bodied man will be forced to labor, and there will be no drones or persons engaged in unproductive labor dependent on society at large. Some occupations would be rendered obsolete or practically so. The number of lawyers, bankers, traders, middlemen and speculators would be greatly diminished and the persons who otherwise would have entered these occupations will engage in actual production. Having to work but four hours a day, men and women will have infinitely more time for recreation, art, music and general culture.

In reading Socialist literature one can not fail to be struck by the similarity between the arguments used by Socialists in favor of collective ownership and those put forward by trust magnates in favor of monopoly. Socialists and monopolists, in fact, are completely in accord concerning the greater efficiency and economies under combination than under competition. But they disagree on the question of who shall control consolidated industry. The magnate says: "The few." The Socialist says: "The community for the benefit of all." Socialists have

welcomed the development of trusts and combines, and contend that the process indicates a trend toward their ideas. The next step in economic evolution, they say, will be for the nation to own the trusts. If their view is correct, then we will have to admit that all unconsciously John D. Rockefeller and J. Pierpont Morgan were the greatest practical Socialists of their generation!

III

The United States was the chief field for experimentation in the early Utopian phases of Socialism, but serious attempts to form a Socialistic political movement have been a comparatively recent development, and little real connection can be traced between the early communistic experiments and the Socialist party of to-day. Modern Socialism is chiefly dependent for support on workmen divorced from the soil and dissatisfied with their condition as wage laborers. During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century the number of such persons was comparatively small. Agriculture was the main occupation, and the immense amount of cheap land rendered it comparatively easy for men to escape from the condition of employees and to become owners of the soil. Economic classes had hardly developed, and American democratic conditions, with virtually universal white manhood suffrage, left the American worker without the political grievances which formed so powerful an incentive in Europe for workmen to organize politically

on a class basis. It was the enormous industrial development of the last few decades of the nineteenth century that created conditions favorable to Socialistic growth.

The first "Scientific Socialists" in the United States were mainly German immigrants who left the Fatherland as a result of disturbed political conditions in the period of 1848. The movement manifested itself chiefly in labor organizations and athletic turnvereins. It attracted comparatively little public attention, perhaps because it was too weak to accomplish anything politically. The anti-slavery contest distracted the attention even of Socialists themselves, and many of them entered the Union army to fight for the brotherhood of man. Following the war the Socialist movement in America became linked with the International Workingmen's Association, formed in 1864 by European Socialists. In 1872 the general council of the association was transferred to New York, where it cooperated with the National Labor Union, but came to an end in 1876. Various attempts to organize Socialists along political lines met similar fates. The same month which witnessed the demise of the International, however, saw the launching at Philadelphia of a Working Men's Party of the United States on a platform of Scientific Marxian Socialism, and under the name of the Socialist Labor Party, as it was renamed in 1877, it has enjoyed an intricate and varied career down to the present.

The numerical strength of the new party was never

great. Even its leaders did not consider it worth while to nominate a national ticket until 1892,* contenting themselves with participating in local elections and winning a few scattered contests. Before the Socialist movement could hope to accomplish much it must be acclimated to America. The two principal avenues through which results could be accomplished were political action, which was now being attempted, and the trades unions. Perhaps most of the Socialist strength of to-day is a result of the efforts of agitators in the unions to "bore from within" and to teach the workmen "to vote as they strike." The labor troubles of 1877 proved favorable to Socialism, and in the years 1876-77 not less than twenty-four newspapers directly or indirectly supporting the propaganda were established. But the return of quieter times caused the response to the Socialist appeal to decline, and many of the newspapers failed. In 1878, however, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, a daily newspaper printed in German, was founded, and it remains to-day one of the mainstays of the Socialist movement. In general, "the social contentment and political indifference of the masses seemed impregnable, no new converts were made, while the old party members, growing disheartened, dropped out in large numbers."

The rise of Anarchism in this period complicated the Socialists' problem, for Anarchism, with its gospel of revolution and ridicule of reform measures fas-

* In 1880 the Socialist Labor Party indorsed the Greenback candidates, but the alliance was soon discontinued.

minated many disgruntled and discouraged Socialists. Genuine Socialism had nothing in common with the new movement except hostility to existing institutions, and its leaders vigorously opposed the anarchistic propaganda; but the general public failed to discriminate between the two movements, and regarded both as violent and dangerous. The Haymarket tragedy of May, 1886, and the subsequent trial and execution of some of the alleged instigators of that bloody act broke up the Anarchist movement and left the field clearer for Socialism.

In 1892 the Socialist Labor Party put a national ticket in the field and succeeded in polling 21,512 votes, a number which was increased to 55,550 in 1896, and to 82,204 in the Congressional elections of 1898. But the party had meanwhile fallen out with both the great labor organizations, the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, and in 1896 its national convention had condemned existing trade organizations as hopelessly corrupt. This attitude proved fatal to all chances for future success, and since then the party has declined. Its vote in 1912 was only 29,071, and its final submergence appears a matter of only a short time.

Meanwhile a new Socialist movement had sprung up outside of the Socialist Labor Party, and the varied elements of this movement united with many persons who had withdrawn from the old party to form at Chicago, in June, 1897, the Social Democracy of America. One of the avowed purposes of the new

party was to gain possession of some thinly inhabited western state by colonization and set up a Socialist state within its limits. But a split soon occurred within the party over this proposal, and the seceders in 1898 formed yet another organization known as the Social Democratic Party of America, which dropped the colonization scheme and adopted the usual Socialist propaganda. The old organization soon disappeared, but the new, which included in its membership Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger, was joined by a faction of the old Socialist Labor Party, and in 1901 took its present name of the Socialist Party of America.

The presidential candidate in 1900 and in every campaign since, the energetic leader who has done perhaps more than any other man to secure cohesion and enthusiasm, was Eugene V. Debs. Born in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1855, he received only a common school education, and while still in his teens became a locomotive fireman on the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad. During 1875-79 he worked in a wholesale grocery house in his home city, and was subsequently city clerk and member of the Indiana state legislature. Meanwhile he became grand secretary and treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and in 1893 president of the American Railway Union, an organization which was largely the result of his own tireless efforts and which in 1894 attained a membership of not less than 150,000. As

leader of the Union he managed the great railway strike of 1894 with remarkable courage and ability and would perhaps have won had not the United States authorities intervened. For violating an injunction he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for contempt of court, and while in confinement employed his enforced leisure in studying social questions and Socialist theories. In January, 1897, he publicly announced his conversion to Socialism, and since that time has played a more prominent part in the movement than has any other man.

In appearance Debs is long, lank and lean. As an agitator he is regarded as without a peer among his compatriots. Although four times a candidate for the presidency, he admits that he is not fitted by temperament or taste for the office, but he enjoys the work of spreading Socialist ideas. While speaking he moves up and down the platform, crouches, brandishes his long arms and, carried away by his cause, utters wild invectives. His hero in American history is John Brown, and he has been known to remark that at some time perhaps he will do some wild thing comparable to that of the old Abolitionist at Harper's Ferry. Despite the vigor of his denunciative language, he has been described by Lincoln Steffens as "the kindest, foolishest, most courageous lover of man in the world." Traubel says of him: "Debs has ten hopes to your one hope. He has ten loves to your one love. You think he is a preacher

of hate. He is only a preacher of men. When Debs speaks a harsh word it is wet with tears." And the poet Riley testifies that the agitator has

"As warm a heart as ever beat
Betwixt here and the Judgment Seat."

In its organization the Socialist movement differs from that of any other political party. In the first place, it is international in scope and has an international organization. In 1889 a congress at Paris revived the old International, and now every three years delegates from every important country under the sun meet to discuss matters of common concern to the whole movement. In the interval business is conducted by an International Bureau with headquarters at Brussels. The congresses emphasize the brotherhood of man, have declared international rivalry the result of capitalism and condemn militarism. A sketch code of labor laws has been agreed on and measures for dealing with unemployment suggested and adopted.

In the United States the Socialist party's organization is closer than that of the other parties. Each community has its local organization, which holds regular meetings. Every member in regular standing pays a small weekly due toward keeping up the party and spreading the Socialist ideas. Not all persons who vote the Socialist ticket are dues-paying members, but in May, 1912, there were 125,823

such members. Any reader who has experienced the difficulty of persuading the rank and file members of any other party to contribute money toward legitimate campaign expenses will appreciate the significance of this fact in the light it throws on the devotion of Socialists to their party. Socialists contend that the dues paying does away with a great evil which has debauched more than one political party in the past—the evil of having a campaign underwritten by trusts and public service corporations, which expect concessions in return.

A significant feature of present-day Socialism in America is that it has at last been “acclimated.” A convention is no longer composed mainly of delegates wearing long hair, smoking long pipes and speaking the tongues of the German Fatherland. Even the Indianapolis convention of 1901, at which the present name of the party was adopted, was composed of delegates eighty per cent. of whom were native born. Among the list of nominees one still finds such names as Berger and Seidel, but also such names as Drew, Clifford, Hunter, Russell, Work and White. A large proportion of the municipalities carried by the Socialists in 1910 were distinctly American in population, while many others were prevailingly American. The chief stronghold of the party is, however, Wisconsin, where the German element is strong, and Socialism has made Milwaukee more famous.

In 1911 there were no less than four hundred and

thirty-five Socialist office-holders in the United States, including one member of the national House of Representatives and the mayor of Milwaukee. The Socialists' first representative in Congress, Victor L. Berger, was defeated in 1912, and they also lost control of Milwaukee; but the defeat in that city on the municipal ticket was due to a coalition between Republicans and Democrats, for the Socialist vote was greater than in 1910. In 1913 they elected Job Harriman mayor of Los Angeles, a city larger than Milwaukee, and in 1914 a congressman in New York.

Many factors enter into the increasing strength of the Socialist party. Undoubtedly many votes polled by them represent merely protest against existing conditions rather than genuine Socialist conviction, yet it is equally certain that Socialist ideas are spreading. The greater the economic tension the greater the Socialist appeal. In the spirit of unrest which is astir among common labor throughout the world lies Socialism's greatest opportunity. In the new faith the weary and heavy laden see hope for the future. Yet Socialism also appeals to idealists who, though perhaps themselves fortunate in worldly matters, are eager to better the condition of humanity. It would be idle to combat the movement by measures of repression. Reforms which remove grievances would seem to be the only way. Narrow views on the part of capitalists do more to aid the cause than a thousand soap-box orators. It is the judgment of Professor Hoxie that it is "the Otises, the Posts, the Parrys, the Van

Cleaves, and the Kirbys who are most active in raising up Revolutionary Socialism in this country.”*

IV

The Socialist party of to-day stands committed to the view that their system will come in through evolution rather than revolution. Most of its leaders realize that society changes slowly, that social transformations can not be wrought in a day. Socialist orators and writers, it is true, constantly speak of the “coming Revolution,” but most of them use the word in a restricted sense, and expect the “Revolution” to be accomplished by evolutionary and peaceful means. The idea of violence is expressly repudiated by the responsible leaders. “Socialists may be dreamers,” says Emil Seidel, “but they are not Anarchists.”

As the party has increased in power it has become less radical. It makes concessions while demanding them. It gains strength at the expense of the moderates, and itself yields to moderate influences. A good illustration of this tendency is the change in its attitude on the subject of the collective ownership of land. The platform of 1908 demanded such ownership of “all land,” but with such an attitude it was evident that the party could make no progress among the farming class, and in a referendum vote of the entire membership in 1909 the words were stricken out. The platform of 1912 merely provides for the col-

* “The Rising Tide of Socialism,” in *Journal of Political Economy*, October, 1911, page 626.

lective ownership of land when practical and otherwise for the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation. To quote Professor Hoxie again: "The creedalism and immoderatism of Socialism, other things being equal, vary inversely with its age and responsibility. The average Socialist recruit begins as a theoretical impossibilist and develops gradually into a constructive opportunist. Add a taste of real responsibility and he is hard to distinguish from a liberal reformer."

There is, however, a small but active faction of the Socialist party who despair of success through political action and advocate more radical methods. These "Syndicalists," as they would be called in France, usually belong to the revolutionary **Industrial Workers of the World**.

They accept the name of "Reds," and contemptuously refer to the moderates as the "Yellows," "Intellectuals," and "Office-seekers," accusing them of making a vulgar and compromising bid for public favor. They deplore the degeneracy of the modern Socialist movement and claim that it is becoming bourgeois in character.

At its convention at Indianapolis in May, 1912, the convention of the Socialist party, after a bitter fight, went definitely on record as opposed to all violent and revolutionary methods and ordered the expulsion of "any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage, or other methods of

violence." Early in 1913 William D. Haywood, the most prominent Industrial Worker in the party, was recalled by referendum from his position as a member of the national executive committee, the ground being that in speeches to strikers he had advocated sabotage.

The position of the orthodox Socialists upon this question has thus been set forth by Morris Hillquit: "Socialists do not advocate law breaking or the use of 'any' weapons in the working-class struggle. We maintain that modern law is in the main class law, capitalist law made to enslave the workers, and we urge a complete change of the juridical system along the lines of the Socialist program. But we advocate the introduction of such change by the regular and lawful methods established for the purpose. To preach to the workers violence and law breaking is ethically unjustifiable and tactically suicidal. The laws of political democracies, in the last analysis, always represent the will of the majority of the people. The remedy of the minority aggrieved by the law is to convert their fellow citizens to their views—to turn their minority into a majority and thus get possession of the legislative machinery for the interests and policies represented by them. Whenever we obtain control of the legislative machinery of the government, we will exact obedience to our laws upon the same grounds upon which we now yield obedience to capitalist laws."

Mr. Hillquit adds, however, that "it is not impossible that before we reach the final stage an attempt will

be made by the ruling class to frustrate our victory by force—in that case we will fight like tigers, and mount the barricades, if need be. But then we will be fighting not as a mob of lawbreakers, but against such a mob.”

The Socialist party in its platform of 1912 advocated collective ownership of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express service, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of large-scale industries; the municipal or state ownership of grain elevators, stock-yards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies; the extension of the public domain to include mines, forests, quarries, oil wells and water-power; collective ownership of land wherever practicable; collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system; social legislation to aid the unemployed; laws regulating child labor; a minimum wage law; old age pensions; short hours for labor; factory inspection; freedom of the press; a graduated income tax; woman's suffrage; the initiative, referendum and recall; the abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President; laws to curb the powers of the courts, etc. These measures are regarded as calculated to strengthen the working class in the fight for the realization of its ultimate aim and are not the final demands of Socialism.

The methods which have been suggested for obtaining control of the industries of the nation include

voluntary bestowal, purchase, pensions, competition and confiscation. Socialists believe that some capitalists from philanthropic and patriotic motives would give their industries to society at large. Other owners could be induced to relinquish their rights by outright purchase or by pensions. Another alternative would be to have the Socialist state engage in competition with capitalists and drive them from the field. Some Socialists advocate outright confiscation and justify such a step on the ground that capitalists have obtained their wealth by the exploitation of society and that for society to seize such wealth would be merely to resume what had been wrongfully exacted from its members. The tendency on this point seems, however, to be away from confiscation. Some writers contend that such a measure in the end would be more expensive than purchase.

V

The Socialist fondly believes that in his system lies the salvation of men and that ultimate triumph is assured. When some critic announces that he has discovered a new flaw in Socialistic theory, the Socialist smiles and continues his work of making converts. In no other party does one discover such zeal, such determination, such confidence in the future. Political speakers generally admit that it is labor lost to argue with a Socialist, for once a Socialist always a Socialist appears to be the rule. Like the early Christian,

he is filled with his cause and aflame with proselyting zeal. In the history of the last century and a half he thinks that he finds much justification for his faith. He proclaims that "manifest destiny" is on his side. He regards the mere reformer pityingly as a man working without rhyme or reason toward no definite goal.

It is evident that if Socialists continue to multiply the time will come when their system, however defective, will receive a concrete trial. The average Socialist will tell you that he expects to live to see the main principles in actual operation. He talks expansively of "percentages of increase" in the vote of his party, and with the glow of faith in his eyes announces that the "Revolution" is at hand. Perhaps he is right as to his ultimate victory, but a study of existing political conditions leads one to doubt whether he is not too optimistic as regards the length of the period which will elapse before Socialism comes into its own. The most favorable field for Socialist growth lies, of course, among industrial wage-workers. But the most favorable soil will presently become exhausted, and it will then be impossible to double the vote every four years. The resistance, the inertia, of a complex social and industrial system such as the one we live under is enormous and the time seems far distant when it will be utterly uprooted. A long and bitter struggle, filled with many disappointments, probably lies before the Socialist party. About all that seems certain is that the indications are that many

Socialist ideas will be adopted into our civilization and that in the future we shall have an influential Socialist party under one name or another.

Socialism is undoubtedly receiving more serious and respectful attention than ever before. It is proper that it should be so. The true Socialist is not a scamp nor a murderous nihilist thirsting for the blood of mankind. The movement has its radicals and cranks in abundance, but Abolitionism had its John Brown and Christianity its St. Simeon Stylites, yet are not condemned on that account. The true Socialist is a philanthropist who has beheld a vision of the betterment of humanity and the brotherhood of man. Even though we may doubt his panacea, we must respect him for the nobility of his intentions.

In the final edition of his *Political Economy* John Stuart Mill ventured this prediction of the future: "The form of association, however, which if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief and work people without a voice in the management, but the association of the laborers themselves on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected and removable by themselves." In other words, Socialism.

A great American political scientist is fond of saying: "The rich will always rule. When they have not the brains and the votes, they buy them of those who have." There is much in past history to justify

his prediction, and yet history does not always repeat itself. With the growth of public education man's intellect expands, and he becomes better able to associate effectively for a common purpose. The "have-nots" vastly outnumber the "haves," and they have only to unite to accomplish their will. In the already won ballot they have the weapon ready to their hands. Ballots are infinitely more effective than bombs and perhaps Socialism may, in truth, be "a consequence of democracy." Assuredly the peroration of the *Communist Manifesto* daily appeals to an ever-widening circle of mankind:

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all nations unite!"

"Socialism grew to be a very important question during the nineteenth century," says Thomas Kirkup; "in all probability it will be the supreme question of the twentieth."

CHAPTER XVI

THE ROAD UPWARD

I

THE ferment in American affairs is not confined to those phases of our life that have already been considered. Education is in a constant state of flux. Fads follow one another almost as fast as fashions change in feminine apparel. Just now vocational training is to the fore, and is probably the most sensible pedagogical development of many years. And yet it is certain that in many places, especially in the smaller schools, the work done will largely be wasted effort because of poor teaching. Any one who is conversant with school affairs knows that there are men pretending to give instruction in manual training who do not even know how to sharpen a knife properly and women teaching domestic science who, if put in charge of a household, would drive the best digestion into dyspepsia within a month. Such teaching is wasted time, money and effort, and if instructors properly trained in these subjects are not available it would be infinitely better not to attempt them at all. In truth, it does not really matter a great deal what subjects are taught provided the teaching is done well.

Colleges and universities have attained a magnitude never before seen in any country, but few of them have found themselves. In many neither student life nor the administration of affairs is in accord with the democratic ideal. Aristocratic tendencies among the students have recently given rise to much discussion, and in some institutions efforts are being made to secure more democracy. It is important to the whole country that this should be accomplished, for assuredly if the spirit of caste is allowed to develop in our schools it will react on institutions and customs outside. One could hardly expect conditions to be otherwise among the students when one considers the autocratic system of administration which is the general rule. In many institutions the board of trustees

is wholly or almost wholly a closed corporation, a self-perpetuating body, responsible only to themselves. The trustees usually take little detailed interest in their task, but delegate their authority to a president, an official to all intents and purposes as absolute as the czar of all the Russias. The president's whims are law; his likes and dislikes govern promotions and dismissals. Faculty meetings are held, to be sure, but it is a bold man who dares oppose any policy favored by the president; the faculty has not a tithe of the influence wielded by German faculties. In general, presidents exercise their power with moderation; but now and then one becomes too arbitrary, with the result that academic freedom becomes non-existent, that men of spirit find that they can not endure the re-

straint, and that color is given to the report of a European visitor to the effect that in America there are three sexes—men, women and college professors.

Another weakness of many institutions is that they run to magnificent buildings and equipment rather than to men. Inspired teachers, after all—not the finest buildings or the best football team—are what make universities great, but this simple truth is often overlooked. In justice it should be said that presidents and trustees are not wholly to blame, for it is an unfortunate fact that a benefactor usually prefers to give an immense pile of granite or limestone upon which his name can be chiseled so that after ages can behold it rather than to establish a fund for the payment of running expenses.

Such faults as these are serious, but happily men are already at work on their solution, and they mar rather than destroy the magnificent contribution which the colleges and universities are making toward the life of the country.

II

Even in the field of religion we find conditions hardly more static than in education. The conflict over higher criticism still rages, though perhaps with abated virulence. Doctrinalism is waning, and the age of blind faith seems past, notwithstanding Christian Science. The theory of rewards and punishments likewise has lost much of its power, perhaps because fear of the supernatural, strongest in the savage, loses

its potency as civilization advances. Visions of fire and whiffs of brimstone still influence simple folk, but excite merely a smile among the more sophisticated. The tendency seems toward a covenant of works rather than toward a covenant of faith. The Puritan idea that we should mortify the flesh while passing through this vale of tears toward the hereafter and abstain from all joy and sweetness and light and happiness has broken down. With it is passing the old strictness in the observance of the Sabbath, once the rule in many sections.

It is freely admitted on every hand that the church has lost much of the influence it once possessed. America is classed as a Christian country, although only a little more than a third of the population belong to any one of the many religious bodies. Of those who are members, a large proportion are very irregular in attendance, and some practically never darken a church door. In places attendance has fallen off to such an extent that churches have been utterly abandoned. Statistics recently collected in fifty-nine counties in Iowa show that out of five hundred and forty-three country churches seventy-seven have been thus abandoned, and many of them transformed into barns, granaries or dwelling houses. Similar conditions obtain in other states, and even in places where worship is kept up an undue proportion of the congregation is apt to be women.

Many things—Sunday newspapers, motor-cars, Sunday sports and general worldliness—have been

blamed for the falling off in religious interest, but the church itself is partly responsible for its loss of influence. Many ministers themselves admit that the church has often failed to keep up with the needs of the times. Instead of grappling with the living social and economic problems which touch the lives of their flock, the clergy often waste precious time on barren points of theology. The consequence is that many worthy people discover that they can gain more inspiration from a good book than from a poor sermon.

Yet the ministry are in a large measure the victims of circumstance. The minister is not free. Too often he feels that he can not preach what he wishes but must offer what the wealthy pillars of the church desire. Not every minister is thus held down, but many are, and if such an one, having wife and little ones dependent on him, is influenced by fear in shaping his message, should we blame him too much?*

Assuredly he has had object-lessons in plenty of what may happen to one who speaks his mind freely. There is many a Christian martyr in the ministry to-day, even though he is not boiled in oil nor crucified on a cross of wood with a crown of thorns upon his head.

It is partly as a result of this lack of liberty that the ministry are not so influential and forceful as in our earlier history. In colonial New England they controlled secular as well as spiritual affairs, and no

* See Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, page 304.

important action was taken without their approval. At present strong prejudice exists in many places against ministers even expressing opinions concerning politics. Yet some bold spirits brave it and undoubtedly accomplish much good. Henry Ward Beecher was such a man in his day, and Newell Dwight Hillis, Lyman Abbott, Washington Gladden and others are not afraid to speak out in this.

In the days when the ministry had greater influence a large proportion of the most promising young men entered the calling, as a study of the records of Yale and Harvard will show. The type of man who enters it now is, generally speaking, less forceful. The head of an eastern divinity school in commenting pessimistically on this fact remarked a few years ago that the average theological graduate might prove able to comfort a few sisters weaker than himself but that he would accomplish little in the world at large. Happily for humanity, however, those who feel called to the vineyard are not all weaklings. In the Christian ministry are many men not only of holy lives but also of force and power, awake to the needs of the times and striving mightily for the righteousness that exalteth a nation.

People who are anxious to increase the church's influence are beginning to see that the ministry must be made freer, that less emphasis must be laid on theology and more on social service. Many realize also that sectarianism involves a tremendous loss of efficiency and influence. In other words, the world-

wide tendency toward closer cooperation is making itself felt even in religion. On this point no man would care to risk a prophecy, but he may at least venture a question: How long will Protestant sects, differing only on hair-splitting doctrines or matters of ecclesiastical government, continue content to dwell in separate camps? Already most of the old sectarian bitterness between Protestants has disappeared and, in the field of foreign missions particularly, a spirit of cooperation is manifest.

Christianity must become a militant force in solving the mighty social problems of the day if Christianity is to survive, for on the solution of these problems hinges the existence of the society in which Christianity is an institution. The church must not remain content merely to bring comfort and ministrations to the human wrecks strewn along the shores of our industrial life; it must help to remove the reefs on which those lives have foundered. In the words of a great theologian: "The demoralization of society . . . ought to appeal most powerfully to the Church, for the Church is to be the incarnation of the Christ-spirit on earth, the organized conscience of Christendom. It should be swiftest to awaken to every undeserved suffering, bravest to speak against every wrong, and strongest to rally the moral forces of the community against everything that threatens the better life among men."

It is to be regretted that in a time when all religious forces should be working in harmony for the

advancement of good causes there should be a recrudescence of the old hostility between Catholics and Protestants. The matter is almost wholly ignored by the press, and yet there can be little doubt that the situation is more acute than at any time since the days of the A. P. A. agitation. A factor in the development of feeling is a weekly newspaper known as *The Menace*, published in a small Missouri town but circulating to the extent of almost two million copies throughout the Union. It is difficult to say whether this paper, which is extremely radical in its outpourings, is to be considered primarily as a cause or as a symptom, but certain it is that the prejudice to which it gives utterance is pronounced in many localities and seems to be spreading. The outflaring seems in part to be due to a feeling that Catholics are attempting to exercise undue influence over public affairs, but the controversy on both sides has provoked charges and recriminations more in keeping with the sixteenth century than the twentieth. It is to be hoped that the agitation will subside, for if it continues it may possibly culminate in some such outburst as the Know-Nothing movement of the fifties.

III

American life has some discouraging and unlovely aspects. The highest civilization and the lowest barbarism meet in the same city block. Vulgarities and vice flaunt their faces and seem unashamed. Fraud

prosper and is too often regarded as success. Lawyers and journalists prostitute their talents, making the worse appear the better reason, and in the end do more harm than the poor creature who prostitutes her body for bread. Aphrodisiac literature and suggestive plays sow insidious seeds in the minds of the young and the result is a harvest of moral corruption. An invisible government stretches forth its tentacles and preys on the people like the vultures on the vitals of Prometheus.

But it is a relief to turn from these evil influences to those forces that make for progress and righteousness. Happily, they are many and mighty. The churches, the schools, the colleges and universities, the Christian associations, the honest press, the clean magazines, the hundreds of endowments designed to aid good causes—but this book is not a catalogue. We have strength enough, we have knowledge enough, to transform the Republic. What we need to do is to agree on a program and work together. It is our lack of cooperation, of wisely directed effort, which makes evil formidable and so often triumphant. It is true that now and then there are manifestations which make the patriot heavy-hearted and cause him to wonder if in after ages some new Gibbon will not date another *Decline and Fall* from our own day. But there is great comfort and cheer in this: the great mass of the people believe in honesty, they want good government, they want square dealing in all matters both private and public. Surely, with

our boasted education and intelligence, our knowledge of all the accumulated wisdom of past ages, we shall find ways of surmounting all crises that threaten our sacred Experiment.

John Stuart Mill once wrote that the precursor of every important period of social and political reconstruction has been "a great change in the opinions and modes of thinking of society." Most assuredly the last twenty years have witnessed a revolution in our own opinions and thoughts toward vital social and political questions. May we not venture to hope that the revolution in ideas will be followed by a transformation in practices?

In a country so vast and complex as our own uniformity in all things is, of course, impossible and even undesirable, but if we are to accomplish the transformation we must agree on certain fundamentals. We must learn to emphasize quality rather than quantity. We must take as our motto, not each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, but each for all and all for each. For the sake of our children we must conserve the nation's resources and strive to bequeath to those children the legacy of healthy bodies and sound minds. We must do what we can to secure equality of economic opportunity and to see to it that every child has his chance; he deserves that much, he must receive no less. We must cease our worship of wealth and uphold the truth that there are higher forms of achievement than mere money making, essential though money making

may be. We must see to it that men shall "no longer spill the blood of men for their ambition and the sweat of men for their greed."

In dealings with our neighbors the principle of right not might should be our motto, and we should resolutely pursue the paths of peace. War is the greatest of all social wastes. It is not only wicked and cruel, bringing bitter suffering to the weak and innocent and entailing heavy burdens upon generations unborn, but it distracts attention from needed reforms and impedes the progress of civilization. The spirit of our foreign relations should be that of the noble words of Mr. Bryan to the Japanese ambassador. The ambassador had received the American reply to representations concerning a disputed matter and before leaving paused at the door to inquire whether the reply was "the last word." "Baron," said the secretary of state, "there can never be a 'last word' between friends."

In the past our teachers have taught a patriotism that was aimed at a foreign foe. As children we thrilled with the stories of Bunker Hill and Valley Forge, of heroes who dragged bare and bloody feet through the snow after Washington at Trenton, of men who regretted that they had but one life to lay upon the altar of their country; and we longed for a day when we might prove our own faith and devotion in battle with British redcoats. When our country was a weak nation in danger from foreign foes such patriotism was very well, but there is little use

for it now. We are a great people, potentially the most powerful on earth, and we fear no one.

We need a new patriotism for a new age. Teachers should instil into the hearts of their charges that self-devotion which results in good citizenship. They should breed a bitter contempt for the spirit which would better self at the expense of others. With infinite skill they should lead growing minds to believe that he is the best patriot who contributes most to the cause of righteousness in the nation's affairs. They should emphasize the holiness of public trust. They should teach that the public servant who uses his position for personal profit is as great a traitor to his country as was Benedict Arnold and infinitely more contemptible.

We have a long road to travel between existing practice and a possible ideal. Approximation is all that we can hope for in most things, but each generation ought to approach a little nearer to perfection than the one that preceded it.

Progress toward civilization is, however, intermittent rather than continuous. A traveler reaching on a clear day the crest of a low hill upon the prairie beholds before him the tooth-like peaks of a mighty mountain range sweeping hundreds of miles across his vision. It does not seem far to the nearest of those snow-clad peaks. The novice would hastily conclude that a few hours' walk would bring him to their base. The traveler and his party set out and for days press onward through a tangle of foot-hills,

their way often blocked by rushing ice-cold torrents. At times, for hours, they climb upward; then again, for hours, they descend, losing most or all the elevation they have so hardly won. The weather is often thick, and only once or twice from the top of some divide do they again behold their goal. But at last all the barriers are passed and some unforgettable evening they camp at the very feet of the delectable mountains. Straight ahead tower castellated summits, rocky cliffs rising sheer for thousands of feet, the roof of the world clad in a thick mantle of the purest snow; and as night falls their phantom forms seem giant ghosts peering down from beyond the dark fringe of firs.

And thus it is with the approach to civilization. The way proves longer than it seems. The road leads now up, now down, yet the general direction is upward. Often the goal is not in sight, and few ever know the reason for the journey. But whether life is complete in itself or whether man and nature move forward to some far-off Divine event it is instinctive in humanity to struggle onward along the stony path of progress.



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